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ABSTRACT

A collection of essays on aspects of pragmatics in non-Western cultures includes these papers: "Social Rank and Tunebo Requests" (Paul Headland); "The Use of Reported Speech in Saramaccan Discourse" (Naomi Glock); "An Analysis of Illocutionary Verbs in Walmatjari" (Joyce Hudson); "Please Be Specific: A Functional Description of Noun-Marking Particles in Limos Kalinga" (Hartmut Wiens); "Self-Correction in Capanahua Narration" (Betty Hall Loos); "Being Negative Can Be Positive" (Ger P. Reesink); "Outline of a Practical Frame of Reference for a Sociolinguistic Analysis in an African Context" (Suzanne Lafage); and "Social Context and Mampruli Greetings" (Anthony Naden). (MSE)

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PRAGMATICS IN NON-WESTERN PERSPECTIVE

GEORGE HUTTAR

KENNETH GREGERSON

Editors

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PREFACE

As a new field of inquiry develops, it is efficient and therefore fitting to use the most readily available data to test hypotheses, suggest new ones, and build up models of the phenomena under study. Relatively rapid progress can be made simply by virtue of the fact that the data against which an idea must be tested are ready to hand.

Linguistics has in this respect been no exception. Early in this century, when the task of descriptive linguistics was coming to be seen more and more as the uncovering of the varieties of human language structure, it was natural, for example, that linguists resident in North America investigated languages spoken in the same area. Later, when linguistic fashion focused attention on a native competence not directly perceivable, and affirmed that the nature of language could be investigated by examination of any one language, it was nearly inevitable that generative linguistics developed primarily through study of the languages spoken natively by trained linguists--e.g., English, French, Dutch.

Even sociolinguistics and the sociology of language, although receiving their predominant initial impetus from the problems of multilingual developing nations in different parts of the world, developed more rapidly when researchers turned to similar problems within their own borders throughout North America and Europe.

Likewise the field of linguistic pragmatics owes almost all its progress of the last two decades to scholars looking at language use in the communities of which they are native members--usually communities of speakers of English or other European languages.

Having developed our hypotheses, models, and metaphors of language through intense study of the materials we know best--our native languages--we cannot be content to continue within such limits. If our models resemble human language in general, and not only, say, (Indo-)European languages, then they should be readily confirmed in confrontation with phenomena from other families. If they are partly contradicted thereby, then we have an opportunity to correct our models--an opportunity which study of a narrower range of languages failed to provide. In the process, our encounter with the other languages may resolve problems and suggest

answers to enlarge our models in areas where the study of our own languages brought nothing to mind.

For these reasons, then--for confirmation, correction, and expansion of our current models of language and languages as used--we have striven to bring together in this volume descriptions of languages in use in a variety of non-Western societies in different parts of the world. At the same time, we have encouraged a wide range of topics by making little attempt to clearly delimit "pragmatics" from sociolinguistics, semantics, or other areas from which it could for some purposes be usefully distinguished.

We would like to thank Carol and Neil Brinneman and Lynn Frank for their contribution in translating the article by Suzanne Lafage, although we must accept responsibility for the final form of the English version. We thank Prof. G. Manessey, Directeur de Centre d'Etude des Plurilinguismes (IDERIC), and the publishing company L'Harmattan for permission to publish an English version of this paper, which appeared originally in 1979 in Plurilinguisme: Normes, situations, stratégies, edited by G. Manessy and P. Wald, under the title "Esquisse d'un cadre de référence pragmatique pour une analyse sociolinguistique en contexte africain."

Dallas, Texas
January, 1984

George Huttar
Kenneth Gregerson

SOCIAL RANK AND TUNEBO REQUESTS[1]

Paul Headland

0 Introduction

Longacre (1976) divides speech types into four genres: Narrative, Expository, Procedural, and Hortatory. Though general features are specified for each category, the genres are not defined with sufficient detail to determine subgenre and fringe features. For this study I have chosen to investigate the Hortatory subgenres of REQUESTS, ORDERS, PLEAS, PETITIONS, IMPERATIVES, and COMMANDS. A tentative definition is that the Hortatory is an expression of the desire of the speaker to have the hearer behave in a specified way.

Because the idea of influencing behavior is more dependent upon the social context than the simple recounting of a story (i.e. Narrative), describing an object or idea (Expository), or outlining a process (Procedural), it is worthwhile that the influence of the social context be considered in the study of Hortatory discourse material. Longacre hinted at this connection when he said that the right of someone to tell someone else what to do is implied by the very idea of social control. I discuss here the implication of the social status situation on the linguistic form used.

Labov (1972:247) suggests that some of the areas for study in sociolinguistics include the higher level features of such syntactic phenomena as nominalization, extraposition, WH raising, relativization, and negative raising. He might very well have included discourse and paragraph types. Labov suggests that a great number of linguistic rules considered as variable, "are not variable in the least, that they are categorical rules which given the proper input always apply" (1972:252).

I realize that the social situation and social order bring a large number of factors into a linguistic situation, and that discourse structure has many variables that can be affected. With so many influencing factors and so many variables, the task becomes immense. I confine this study to just the factors of higher

or lower status and the presence or absence of anger. At the same time I am aware of the impossibility of completely excluding skewing caused by other factors. I hope to show that there are significant differences in paragraph structure between requests made to someone of higher status and those made to someone of lower status, and that the factor of anger also influences linguistic form.

The data upon which this paper is based consist mainly of request segments embedded in narrative texts. These texts were obtained from five different speakers, who were all full adult male members of the Tunebo village of Cobaria.[2] The recording of the material was done in "as if" situations, although much of it is based upon real-life events. The major segments of the texts are found in the appendix.

1 General observations on hortatory discourse

Longacre (1976:200ff) describes features of hortatory deep structure as addressee oriented, second person, related with logical (not time) linkage, and verb mode rather than tense in focus. These features are manifested in the surface structures of languages by such things as second person, first person plural inclusive, third person, and the imperative, jussive, and hortatory modes. The connectives selected have conditional, cause, and purpose force.

Healey (1978:9) describes the hortatory paragraph in Koine Greek in somewhat more detail. He postulates premotivation, exhortation, and postmotivation units arranged in that order and tied together with certain function words. It is not clear whether the pre- and post- refer to position in a linear segment of speech, or whether they refer to some kind of semantic time. However, in Tunebo a time-mode aspect of those units in relation to one another becomes diagnostic, as I will describe later.

2 The Tunebo request paragraph

Tunebo has three major classes of paragraphs for the making of requests: the imperative, the hortatory, and the petition. There are three subtypes of imperatives, indicated by the form of the request verb and the type of supporting material in adjacent units.

The imperative verb may appear in imperative form, future tense form, or as a question word.

The imperative with imperative marker consists of optional initial and final orienters, optional circumstance, obligatory request,[3] and optional purpose. The formula is:

± Orienter ± Circumstance + Request ± Purpose ± Orienter

The imperative with interrogative verb occurs without orienters in either margin and has a yes-no question verb as the nucleus of the request. Both the circumstance and purpose units are related to the request unit in the same way as the imperative with imperative verb. The following formula summarizes the structure:

± Circumstance + Request ± Purpose

The imperative with future tense verb occurs only with the circumstance and the request. Circumstance precedes request in the linear stream of speech. The formula is:

± Circumstance + Request

First Person Plural Hortatory paragraphs always appear with the particle **bar** 'at this time' and the imperative form of the verb. Circumstance occurs only rarely, and purpose almost always. The following formula is representative:

± Circumstance + Request ± Purpose

A Petition paragraph consists of an obligatory orienter, an obligatory circumstance, an obligatory request, an optional purpose, and an obligatory question. Its formula is:

+ Orienter + Circumstance + Request ± Purpose + Question

2.1 Units of Tunebo request paragraphs

Beekman, Callow, and Kopesec 1981:112 in their taxonomy of relations between propositions, suggest that exhortation occurs with grounds, but they do not further divide grounds into types. At the same time, they posit other logical relations, such as reason-result, means-purpose, means-result, condition-consequence, and circumstance-head, that seem to have real significance in relation to exhortations.

The request unit in request paragraphs is always in deep structure projected time. Obviously, if such a unit were to be in fulfilled time, the necessity for making the request would be gone. All of the other units take their time-mode relative to this projected time. Some of the grounds, however, are conceived of as coming out of the action sought, and others are conceived of in a more or less vague way of causing the action, or better stated, causing the situation in which the action ought to be proposed. (They do not actually cause the action, or else there would be no need for the speaker to attempt to get someone else to do it.) Note in Labov and Fanshel (1977:78) that the Rule of Request 1b states, "3 would not do X in the absence of the request."

In Tunebo the verb used in the request unit of imperative and first person plural hortatory paragraphs is in the form of imperative, future or interrogative. When it is interrogative, it is the interrogative of corroboration (that is, it is answered yes or no).

The request unit in a petition paragraph consists of a statement of the intention to make a request and the final question asked at the end.

Fraser (1975:205) states the principle: "Given nothing to suggest the contrary, whenever a speaker asserts his intent to perform some act, one can infer that he will actually perform the act," and also his principle of efficiency: "Given nothing to suggest the contrary, whenever a further utterance would be redundant, one can infer that the speaker need not make the utterance, but that he will operate as if he had made it, and will expect the hearer to operate similarly."

The act referred to here is not the one the speaker is requesting, but rather the actual speech act of making the request. So in the following, given the other preconditions of the speech act of a request (see Labov and Fanshel 1977:78), the Tunebo utterance is interpreted as a request:

... oyin ocor conĩn, carin ocor conĩn sẽhw̃aro, 'I plan to plead to the rich ones and chiefs' (Plea for protection, 8.4, sentence 3).

Added to the above is the indirect question at the end of the same unit, **... is sutãytara, quir jãcataytara, awanan itchacayquira.** 'It will soon be seen whether we perish or live long' (Plea for protection, 8.4, sentence 49). Searle (1975:72) states that "S can make an indirect directive by stating that, or asking whether, there are good or overriding reasons for doing A ... ." It then becomes obvious that a request is being made although with much hedging.

The use of interrogative in the request is also an illustration of Searle's generalization mentioned above. The use of the future is but briefly mentioned by Searle (1975:65) as used in the performance of indirect directives in English. It is also used with the same force in Tunebo.

The purpose unit (Healey's postmotivation?) is noted by a logical dependency upon the completion of the request for its realization. If the request is not complied with, the purpose will conceivably not be met. Because of the projected time of the request verb, the purpose is also always in some form that manifests projected time.

In Tunebo, such a purpose is always in future or present tense, or an infinitive. The present tense used is that used for making

generalized statements. Even statives, usually unmarked for tense, have an extra dummy verb attached to carry the tense, as in ... **yehnti ituwi ... bi te yẽhnyera, ay bãr jãcayquira.** 'Stay without arising ... if you should arise and go, it will be bad.' Thus, the request is supported by the threat of a future consequence for failing to comply.

In addition to the future, a special rhetorical question may come into play in the purpose, as in **Rey roẽwi ... roti cuat ... abãt tẽcuajaqui?**[4] 'Bring firewood ... if you don't bring it, ... won't your mother be angry?' The form of this particular question is found almost exclusively in imperative paragraphs, always as a warning of adverse consequences. On several occasions, the author has observed this form being used without any request verb at all, yet with an imperative force. The above cited principle of Searle's, regarding the good and overriding reasons for doing A, comes into play to make this isolated rhetorical question, in effect, an indirect imperative.

The purpose units described above have to do with adverse consequences resulting from failing to comply with the request. They stand to the request in some kind of condition-consequence relationship. These may be a condition with either the verb of the request stated in the negative in the "if" clause, or a pro-verb anaphora, such as **Rey roẽwi, ... roti cuat, ... abãt tẽcuajaqui?** 'Bring firewood ... if you don't bring it, ... won't mother be angry with you?'

On the other hand, the desirable consequences of the action may be emphasized, such as, **... bi teti ituwi ... usar chihr ityatan, eyan abãn tec batro.** 'Stay without going ...; if you stay at home, mother doesn't scold.'

The above purposes are connected, then, by some kind of repetition of the requested action verb, this time in a conditional state with the projected results of that action stated. Contrafactual conditions, contingent conditions, circumstances that repeat the action of the imperative verb, and the projected results of that action constitute the purpose unit.

The connection between the purpose of avoiding adverse consequences and that of achieving desirable results is signaled in the phrases used to make connection between the units. Either can be connected by either a restatement of the imperative verb in a dependent form followed by the consequence or results stated by a verb, or they may occur connected by the use of a pro-verb followed by the consequence or result stated in a finite verb. The form differs in that the ones used with adverse circumstances spell out a contrary-to-fact condition, whereas the connector used in the case of desirable results is stated as a contingency, **eyta cuãcayat**, 'when that happens', or the equivalent verb form.

Synonyms, antonyms, and the use of negatives serve to highlight the different aspects, so that verbs may be manifested as positive in the request and negative in the condition, or vice versa, or both verbs may manifest the same valence. The following chart shows the relationships, where A is for action, C is for adverse consequences, and D for desirable results, + marks positive, and - marks negative:

	Request verb		Conditional clause of purpose	Main clause of purpose
1.	A	+	A	D
2.	-A	+	-A	D
3.	A	+	-A	C
4.	-A	+	A	C

Table 1. Relation of Purpose Unit to Request Unit Verb

Examples of the four possibilities in Table 1 are:

1. (A) **Usar ituwi!** 'Stay here!
   (A) **Usar ityat,** If you stay here,
   (D) **yarsaro.** it's good.'
2. (-A) **Biti jaŵi!** 'Don't go!
   (-A) **Biti jăcayat,** If you don't go,
   (D) **yarsaro.** it's good.'
3. (A) **Biwi!** 'Go!
   (-A) **Biti eyra,** If you wouldn't go,
   (C) **ay batro.** it's bad.'
4. (-A) **Biti jaŵi!** 'Don't go!
   (A) **Bi yehnyera,** If you would go,
   (C) **ay batro.** that's bad.'

In a first person plural hortatory paragraph the purpose is expressed by an infinitive, and it is tied to the request verb both phonologically and grammatically in a much tighter way than with the other request forms, for example:

Bar jaŵa, isura cuwayta. 'Let's go, to arrive in the lowlands.'

The circumstance unit may occur in almost any tense. It is conceived of as having an effect at the time of the action of the request verb. The tense of the circumstance can set the time environment for the entire paragraph, although it is not the nuclear unit. It may be likened to the setting of a narrative paragraph.

The circumstance may be conceived of as being real and having actually happened with an effect that will be felt when the action

requested takes place. Or, it may be a repeated action which has no effect in the present, but will have at the time the requested action is accomplished. In a third case, it may be entirely in the future or hypothetical. In each case, the imperative force of the request unit is only in force when the preconditions of the circumstance unit are realized. Note these futures: **... as yartan, eytan chati tawa!** 'When I die, sing without stopping!' and **As GÜican bi yiror ....** 'When I leave the scene here going to GÜican, ...' Other circumstances are uncertain, e.g., **Uwira jinra, bi teti jaÑi.** 'If other people come, don't go away.' Other circumstances are considered to involve an action in the past that has an effect now, e.g., **Ahra bah bar tan jäjacro, Uni yärsaro, wajacro. Is chi cätaro.** '"Now you have rested. That's good," he said. "You will clear our field."'

The connecting relations between the circumstance and request units are signaled (1) by the subordination of the circumstance clause, (2) by connecting an independent circumstance clause restating its verb phrase as subordinate, (3) by using the pro-verb, **Eyta cuäcayat**, 'when that happens,' (4) by a logical connector, **Eyta bira** 'therefore,' or (5) by juxtaposition.

Very often the logical connection between the circumstance and the request is obscured by elliptical material, either cultural or logical, that is commonly understood by speaker and hearer. The study of what kind of material may be omitted in which situations is a topic worthy of study, as Schank (1974) has done in his work on paragraphs, but it lies beyond the scope of the present study.

2.2 Orienters

Orienters may be briefly described as vocatives and other utterances that serve to establish the relationship between speaker and addressee or of either to the material being spoken, e.g., **Eyta ac bah quin wacaro.** 'I tell you just that much,' and **Asa Sisiru, bah quin raquira.** 'Sisira, I came to see you.'

Table 2 on page 8 shows the various units, the types of clauses, and the connecting relationships of the imperative and the interrogative hortatory paragraph.

3 Tunebo social rank

The Tunebos of Cobaria, who live in villages of around five hundred people, migrate on regular patterns to their other farms, up to two days' walk away, where they also plant crops and have more abundant fish and game. There are two recognized chiefs, who are called **carina** 'big men'. (Other men with leadership qualities are also called **carina**.) The chiefs' only authority is vested in their ability to persuade people to do what they want them to. In the event of disobedience, there is no established sanction.

± Circumstance			+ Request	± Purpose		
Speech Orienter	**+ Circumstance**	**± Connector**	**+ Request**	**+ Connector**	**+ Purpose**	**± Orienter**
Vocative **"Listen to me," etc.**	Full clause tine is future, past, habitual continuative, conditional	Repeat verb of Circumstance but with **-yat** **Eyta bira** 'therefore' **Eyta cuśayat** 'thus being'	Imperative Future Interrogative (yes-no)	**Eyta ir bárira** 'If you wouldn't do this.' Dep. Cl. ending in **-ir** or **-eyra** + neg of verb in Request unit	Adverse consequences	"I have spoken," etc.
	Sometimes the complete circumstance is manifested with the full clause and its verb ending with -yat, in which case it functions in both of the above categories.			**Eyta cuśayat** 'This being' Dep. cl. ending in -yat that is synonym of verb in Request unit.	Beneficial results	

Table 2. The Structure of the Tunebo Hortatory Paragraph. (This does not include the Petition type. Also, in some types, not all units are present.)

Other social classes are determined by age and sex. The lowest are babies of both sexes **buwachcuara**, who are not considered even to be people until after they receive a name. Then they are **saa** until their teen years. At that time the girls have a puberty ceremony and become **cahbara**, while the boys become **si bijiya** 'pack carriers'. Those of both sexes who are married and have children are called **wabjira** until old age, when men are called **werjayâ** and women, **chauquina**. Most men who are **wabjira** or older practice shamanism to a greater or lesser extent. Experts in shamanism come to be called **reoin** 'the one who chants the **reo** (ceremonial) song'.

Older men and women are very respected among the Cobaria Tunebos. The well-established shaman practitioners and chiefs are respected even more. Women in general are not respected to the same degree as the men, but can hardly be said to suffer from disrespect. The table below summarizes the social ranks among the Tunebos.

	men	women
chiefs	**cărina**	
leading shamans	**reoina**	
old people	**werjayâ**	**chaûquina**
25-40 yr (approx)	**wăbjira**	**wăbjira**
15-25 yr (approx)	**si bijiya**	**cahbara**
1-14 yr (approx)	**saa**	**saa**
infants	**buŵachcuara**	**buŵachcuara**

Table 3. The Social Ranks of the Tunebos

Those higher on the chart are the acknowledged leaders and their advice is heeded, but not due to force. Those higher in rank are obligated to use their influence for protection against outsiders and to maintain the social structure within the group. Thus they are expected to do for the benefit of those of lower rank, and it is by so doing that they maintain their influence. (Cf. Halperin (1977) for her allusion to the reciprocal obligations between people of different statuses in peasant societies.)

4.1 The speech act of a request

Austin (1962), Searle (1969, 1975), Labov (1972), Fraser (1975), and Labov and Fanshel (1977) have developed the theory of the performative, which joins the factors of linguistics and recognized social conventions to distinguish a mere recitation of a string of words (a locutionary act) from a speech act, in which something is performed (the illocutionary act) which must be

dealt with or responded to in some way (the perlocutionary act). Searle outlined the anatomy of a speech act promise in a detailed and convincing way. Labov, and later Labov and Fanshel, developed the concept of the speech act of a request (1977:78), which is given below:

Rule of Requests

If A addresses to B an imperative specifying an action X at a time T_1 and B believes that A believes that

1a. X should be done (for a purpose) (Need for Action)

1b. B would not do X in the absence of the request (Need for the request)

2. B has the ability to do X (with instrument Z)

3. B has the obligation to do X or is willing to do it

4. A has the right to tell B to do X,

then A is heard as making a valid request for action.

4.2 Matrix of rules and Tunebo requests

Labov and Fanshel's constitutive rules serve to highlight the different units of the Tunebo request paragraph. Rule 1a above corresponds to the purpose and circumstance. We will note, for example, in the text for example, entitled Instructions (8.1, sentence 2, 3) that the circumstances are established that father is going on a trip to a far-off town. When the father is gone, someone must assume the role of caring for mother. Though the purpose is that mother not suffer inconvenience, the purpose, as stated in sentences 12, 15, 25, and 27 of the same text, is that mother not be upset with her children for failing to do their duty.

Rule 1b corresponds to the request.

Rules 2, 3, and 4 are likely to be expressed by the orienters, e.g., **Bahan bar cun bijacro. Bahan sĕraru**. 'You are grown up. You are a man' states the precondition 2 (ability to perform). **Siratan ey tan acu chajacro**. 'God established it for singing' states the precondition 3 (obligation to perform), and **Ucha ajăt amar tetat waqui rahcwi**. 'This what I myself, your father says, listen to it' states precondition 4 (authority to command).

Some of the features in the rules, to be sure, are signaled only in the social context. They are not articulated in speech because it is not necessary (see Schank 1974). But the fact that they can be articulated and that some optional units of the paragraph allow for their inclusion is indicative that they reflect something in the perceptual world of the Tunebos.

Based on the logic of the Tunebo request paragraph, it appears that there is implicit in rule 1a the idea not only of purpose but also of contributing circumstances. Thus, more explicitly, the rule would take the form:

X should be done, given circumstance W.

Such a rule would allow the idea of conditionality to be attached to exhortations without having to extend the idea of "purpose" to include it also.

Table 4 on page 12 shows, in a matrix, the results of applying the above rules to a number of Tunebo imperative and petition texts. (See texts 8.1-8.5 in the appendix.)

Table 4 demonstrates the application of Labov and Fanshel's rules for requests to several Tunebo texts. Rows A, B, C, and D represent requests made to someone of lower status, and rows E, F, and G to someone of higher status. Row H is more difficult to classify, as it is made to someone outside the Tunebo system and in a hostile setting.

The columns separate the various rules of request and the ways in which they are complied with in the texts. Column 1a indicates the purpose. A-1a and B-1a indicate that the requested behavior ought to be performed to avoid adverse consequences for the addressee. C-1a and D-1a both have the purpose in the larger linguistic context as a result of the requests made in E-1b and F-1b. D-1a also adds the idea of making God happy as a purpose in the request. E-1a, F-1a, and G-1a, on the other hand, do not attribute any adverse consequences to the addressee, but rather to the speaker himself. Much of this is brought out in the accompanying circumstances. H-1a, however, brings out first a purpose to give good results to the speaker, without any reference to the addressee. The second request (after the first had been turned down by the addressee) is then supported with the purpose of avoiding adverse consequences that would be oriented toward the addressee, "I'll fight you."

Column 1b gives a brief form of the request. The appearance of an exclamation point means that an overt imperative form, **-wa**, **-wi**, **-w̃a**, or **-w̃i**, was used to make the request. In E-1b and F-1b the request is made by means of a verbal orienter, which states what the speaker is doing, and a direct or indirect question asked to ascertain the response of the addressee. In G-1b another orienter is used to state the speech act being performed, with an indirect question seeking the response. In H-1b only direct command forms are used.

Column 2, where the ability of the addressee to respond to the request is stated, has a number of boxes that are unfilled in the linguistic context. In A-2 the ability of the addressee is stated

Table 4. Request Rules in Texts.

	1a. X needs to be done for purpose Y	1b. Order or request given	2. B has ability to do X	3. B has obligation to do X	4. A has right to tell B to do X
A (8.1) Instructions	A-1a. or else	A-1b. take care!	A-2. you're man	A-3. X	A-4. X
B (8.2) Shaman talk	B-1a. or else	B-1b. sing!	B-2. God helps you	B-3. God says to	B-4. X
C (8.3) Asking permission I b	C-1a. X_1	C-1b. clear it!	C-2. X_1	C-3. God says to	C-4. X_1
D (8.3) Asking permission II b	D-1a. God will be happy	D-1b. clear it!	D-2. X_1	D-3. God says to You have family	D-4. I give permission to others
E (8.3) Asking permission I a	E-1a. lest I suffer	E-1b. I request... you give permission?	E-2. X	E-3. I would not clear (field) without your knowing	E-4. X
F (8.3) Asking permission II a	F-1a. lest I suffer	F-1b. I request... to see what you say.	F-2. X	F-3. X	F-4. X
G (8.4) Plea for protection	G-1a. Others suppress us	G-1b. I think I'll plead + see if I perish or not	G-2. X	G-3. Lest God be sad	G-4. X
H (8.5) Demands and threats	H-1a. to live with me	H-1b. turn over quickly!	H-2. You have her	H-3. not your child	H-4. X
	or else I fight	don't give in marriage!	You have her	not your child	X

X supplied from the social context
X_1 supplied from the larger linguistic context

to be that of a now-grown-up man to behave in the requested way. B-2 refers to the help God will give. C-2 and D-2 are supplied from the larger linguistic context, the behavior requested being the reciprocal behavior to that sought in E-1b and F-1b. E-2, F-2, and G-2, however, are supplied by the social (nonlinguistic) context. H-2 states the possibility of the request being complied with, with no focus on the addressee's part in that possibility.

Column 3 indicates the obligation placed upon the addressee to behave in the requested manner. In A-3 the obligation comes from the fact that the addressee is being requested to take care of family members and possessions. B-3, C-3, and D-3 mention the established supernatural rules to place the obligation. D-3 also adds the obligation to the family. E-3 implies indirectly the obligation of the addressee to grant permission. The speaker states that he himself would not clear a field without the knowledge (permission?) of the addressee. In F-3 support for the obligation comes from the extralinguistic context. Even though at first it seems that one of high status would have no obligation to comply with the requests of those of lower status, an examination of the requests reveals that they are for the protection and control of certain norms, the advantage of which is for the people of lower status. Although this is not always fulfilled, the obligation for such things is there nevertheless. Even though the Tunebos are not peasants under a lord, and the obligations are not as well defined toward the younger, lower class people, they nevertheless do exist and contribute to satisfying the preconditions of the performative when a request is uttered to a chief, or to government officials.

Column 4 indicates the right of the speaker to make the request of the addressee. In A-4 and B-4 this right comes from the social context. In A-4 the request consists of instructions made by a father to his son, and in B-4, which is in the realm of shamanism, the request made by an older shaman to a young man about to become one. Both C-4 and D-4 have a larger linguistic context in which permission has been requested to do just what the addressees are being instructed to do. D-4 also asserts the role of the speaker in the society for making just that type of command. E-4, F-4, and G-4 offer no support in the linguistic context, but the context of the social obligation of the higher ranking person to protect and provide control of resources for those in lower status implies that there is the right to make that kind of petition. It is the people of lower status who will suffer if the obligation to protect and control the resources is not taken seriously, and many times the higher-status person is unaware of any problems unless the petition is actually made. Thus, their right to make the request of the person of higher status is established.

5 Social factors and Tunebo requests

Table 4, which is based on Labov and Fanshel's rules and gives data from Tunebo texts, serves to highlight some differences that are best interpreted in light of social rank. Labov and Fanshel (1977:32) give another set of rules, which concern indirect requests:

> If A makes a request for information or an assertion to B about
>
> a. the existential status of act X to be performed by B
>
> b. the consequences of performing an action X
>
> c. the time T_1 that an action X might be performed by B
>
> d. any of the preconditions for a valid request for X as given in the Rule of Requests,
>
> and all other preconditions are in effect, then A is heard as making a valid request of B for the action X.

Fraser (1975), in his article on hedging, and Searle (1975), on indirect directives, also describe a type of softened request, which in Tunebo is used for making a petition. These requests are best interpreted in Tunebo as being affected by the social ranking of the speaker and addressee.

Requests made to one of higher status are hedged (indirect). Note that the request in the text Plea for protection (see appendix, 8.4, sentence 3) is a declaration of intention to petition, ... **conîn sẽhũaro** 'I think I'll plead ...', with an additional level of indirectness added by the contemplative 'I'm thinking ....' On the other hand, compare the direct forms 'take care!' and 'sing!' of the requests in Instructions (8.1, sentence 3) and Shaman talk (8.2, sentence 3), when the requests are made to one of lower status.

Requests made to one of higher status state the purpose as being for the advantage of the speaker, not of the addressee. In contrast, requests made to one of lower status focus the purpose on results projected to be to the advantage of the addressee. Note G-1a in Table 4, 'Others suppress us' in contrast to the 'or else' attitude of A-1a, which refers to the adverse consequences of mother's anger to the addressee.

Requests made to those of higher status are less likely to include in the linguistic context the ability of the addressee to comply. This stems from the conception (or misconception) that higher status individuals have the ability to do nearly anything. In requests to those of lower rank, however, the mention of such ability in the linguistic context apparently serves to encourage self-confidence for doing the requested task. Another reason is that the statement of the ability of one is considered more valid

if it comes from one considered to be more expert, than from a novice. Again, whether or not it is true, those of higher rank are accorded more expert status than others.

The expression of the right to make a request is rare in Tunebo. Most often it appears in a statement in the orienter margin that refers to social rank, such as, **Ucha ajåt amar tetåt waqui rahcwi**. 'Listen to what I myself (your) father is saying.'

In addition to the requests referred to in table 4, the softened request for a wife, as in **Asan wiya batro. Bahatan asan wiyan wĩcatayca, ay yehwĩninʔ** 'I have no wife. Would you give me a wife, to marry?' (Request to marry, 8.6:1, 2), exemplifies the courteous request, made to one of higher status, and in which utmost caution is called for.

A hard request, on the other hand, is made with the request verb in the future tense, and without any purpose unit. In Ordering work done (8.10:7-9), the context involves a young man (**si bijiya**) recently returned from the outside world and who has been resting for sixteen days. The father says, **Ahra bah bar tan jåjacro. Unĩ yărsaro. Is chi cătaro.** 'Now you have rested. It's enough. You will clear our field.' In Family feud (8.8:1-3, 5), a dialogue, the opening speech is a request, **As acu bahat iri anătaro**. 'You will cook food for me' to which the jealous second wife replies, **Batro. Rĕhrati ănajatro. Asra ăntiro.** 'No! No one will cook. I (emphatic) won't cook.' They are arguing, and anger affects the form of the request verb.

In Demands and threats (8.5:74, 75) the first speech of the first exchange opens with a rhetorical question, **Bura, Bura, Buru, as wacj ari? Biscantara? Bah jor usara wăcuano**. 'Bill, Bill, Bill, where is my daughter? Where is she? They say she's here with you.' This is the only use of a rhetorical question in our data to introduce a topic, and it is uncertain whether its function is to express anger or just to introduce the topic.

Much of this text falls outside the normal patterns observed in the others. It may be that this is a special type, or it could be that the social interchange between 'Bill' and the speaker fails to follow the script because Bill has no established role in the social ranking within the Tunebo system. Another unique feature of this text is the purpose given to avoid the personal threat (8.5:111-14).

6 Nonsecond person imperatives

In Shaman talk (8.2:20) as well as in other data not presented here, third person imperative is used.[3] There is nothing in our data, however, to indicate that it is any different from the expression of desire that a third party comply with the request given.

The use of first person plural imperative is different in form, but no function related to social status or anger seems to be related to its use in the data we have.

7 Conclusions

The patterns of Tunebo hortatory paragraphs are regular, and the subtypes clearly signal different uses relative to the social statuses of speaker and addressee and the presence of anger in the social situation.

The use of relative time and modes of the circumstance, request, and purpose units of the Tunebo hortatory paragraph give a key to understanding the pattern and arrangement of the units. The use of authority as a support for the request unit falls outside the expected pattern.

Labov and Fanshel's rules of request, along with those of others who have described this type of speech act, serve admirably to analyze the Tunebo hortatory paragraph.

Further study of orienters is also in order to determine if there is any structural significance connected with rules 2, 3, and 4 of Labov and Fanshel's Rules of Request, which are manifested mainly by the orienter units when they are explicit in the linguistic context.

8 Appendix: Texts

8.1 Instructions

A brief two-paragraph section of a typical hortatory text in Tunebo is given below:

2. **Asa Güican bicaro.** 3. **As Güican bi yiror bahta**
I Güican (a town) go I Güican go away you

abí ôbiri yaña. 4. **Ab cat chit cat ôbiri yaña.**
mother care do mother too sister too care do

5. **Rey roñi.** 6. **Chi cawi.** 7. **Canar yañi.** 8. **Abí**
firewood bring field clear work do mother

ôbiri yañi. 9. **Ab jor ituwi.** 10. **Pasear bi teti jañi.**
care do mother with live visit go not do

11. **Eyta bey yehnyera, ay batru** 12. **Abât eyta bi**
thus go arise (if) good no mother thus go

têcayat, abât rey roti cuat, canori yati
(you) do mother firewood not-bring doing work not-do

cuat, oya yati cuat, abât beha têcuajaqui?
doing bag not-make doing mother you (emph) fight (Rh Q)

13. **Eyta bira ab joran yehnti ĭtuwi.** 14. **Cuesti ĭtuwi.**
therefore mother with not-rise stay not-play stay

15. **Eyta bi te yehnyera ay bar jăcayquira.** 16. **As bi**
thus go do arise (if) good not be (will) I go

yĭrora ab jor tĕcuati ĭtuwi. 17. **Chit chor tĕcuati**
away mother with not-fight stay sister with not-fight

ĭtuwi. 18. **Eyta ac bah quin wacaro.**
stay thus no-more you to I-say

2. 'I am going to Güican. 3. When I go away to Güican, you take care of mother. 4. Take care of mother and sister. 5. Bring firewood. 6. Clear the field. 7. Do your work. 8. Take care of mother. 9. Stay with mother. 10. Don't go visiting. 11. If you would get up and go, that's bad. 12. If you thus go, if you don't bring firewood, if you don't work, if you don't weave, won't mother fight you? 13. Therefore stay with mother without leaving. 14. Stay without playing. 15. If you should thus arise and go, it would be bad. 16. When I go away, stay with mother without fighting. 17. Stay with sister without fighting. 18. I tell you just that much.'

19. **Ab jor tĕcuati jaŵi.** 20. **Chit cat tĕcuati**
mother with not-fight do sister too not-fight

jaŵi. 21. **Uwira jinra, bi teti ĭtuwi.** 22. **Ab jor**
do people there-are go not-do stay mother with

chĕcara ûsara camwi. 23. **Eyta bira eyta bi te yehnyatra**
night home sleep therefore thus go do if-arise

abăn behmă acwan tecan abăy jăcayquira. 24. **Chităn behmă**
mother you toward mad very will-be sister you

toward tecan abăy jăcayquira. 25. **Bi teti ab jor**
toward mad very will-be go not-do mother with

ûsaran chihr ĭtyatan, eyan abă tec batru. 26. **Chit cat**
home sit stay she mother mad not sister too

tec batru. 27. **Oya cat bijcăj cat reya cat chi**
mad not bags too plant-fiber too firewood too field

cat rocăyatan, abăn ahniro. 28. **Chităn ahniro.** 29. **Bah**
too if-work mother is-happy sister is-happy you

quin uch wacaro. 30. **As ajqui rahcwi.** 31. **Bahan cucaj jiro.**
to this I-say my word listen you ears have

32. **Bahan bar cun bijacro.** 33. **Bahan sĕraru.** 34. **Uch**
you now mature went (came) you are-man this

rahcwi.
listen

19. 'Don't fight with mother. 20. Don't fight with sister. 21. If there are people around, don't go and stay away. 22. Sleep at home with mother at night. 23. Therefore, if you arise and go away thusly, mother will be very mad at you. 24. Sister will be very mad at you. 25. If not going, you stay at home with mother, she won't get mad. 26. Sister won't get mad. 27. If you work at making bags and spinning fiber and bringing firewood, and clearing the field, mother will be happy. 28. Sister will be happy. 29. I tell you this. 30. Listen to my words. 31. You have ears. 32. You have grown up. 33. You're a man. 34. Listen.'

8.2 Shaman talk

1. **Sisira Sewayat cajacro, ay tani.**
Sisira(name) Sewaya(name) picked dance-song sing

2.**Sewaya wajacru:** 3. **"Serinat ayan ay-bara tawa,**
Sewaya said men dance-song hard sing

-wajacro-. 4. **Ey tatira cabara tinajaqui?**
said that if-not-sing end-of-world won't-dark

-wajacro-. 5. **Ey imara sutajaqui,**
said that ourselves won't-be-finished-off

-wajacro-. 6. **Eyta-bira ay-bar abwa, -wajacro-.**
said therefore hard learn said

7. **Eyta bir Sir chihta baha icara bar chajacro,**
therefore God message you in already put

-wajacro-. 8. **-Sewayat wajacro-.** 9. **Ayin abi**
said Sewaya said dance-song learn

cuacayet suta bari, -wajacro-. 10. **Cabara cat**
result finish-off not said end-of-world also

tina bariri, -wajacro-. 11. **Ay cajc cutara ayra**
darken not said dance earth on dance

bitach banajatro, -wajacro-. 12. **Eyta bira**
how-possibly can't finish said like-that being

bahatan ay tawa, -wajacro-. 13. **Sira ub cahmor ajatan**
you song sing said God's eyes before I

wacaro, -wajacro-. 14. **Eyta bijira ayan as yartan eytan**
already said therefore dance I when-die leave

chati tawa, -wajacro-. 15. **Siratan ey tan acu**
put-not sing said God that to-sing for

chajacro. 16. **Bahnaquin wiquir chajacro.** 17. **Is usar**
put all having-given put us here

caybar cuitara witiro. 18. **Sisira quin eyta**
other-tribe in give-no Sisira(name) to like-that

wajacro, Sewayati. 19. **Eyta bira cuantian eya yechi**
said Sewaya(name) therefore a-lot that carefully

jawa. 20. **Aya itan istiyatan istiyatan etan etiti**
put dance another another another then quit-no

tawa, -wajacro-. 21. **Ey etyira Sir ub cahmor**
sing said that if-quit God eyes before

imar sutajaqui, -wajacro-. 22. **As yaririn**
we-ourselves won't-finish-off said I when-die

in cuacayet ey quesa tecuasti jawa, -wajacro-.
soon as-a-result that root fight-no put said

23. **Etatra rica cajca erara istiyat abic jawa, -wajacro-.**
then crowd land there another learn put said

24. **Etatra ayan biquita jacayquira, -wajacro-.** 25. **Conquin**
then dance going put said to-beg

biquita jacayquira, -wajacro-. 26. **Ayi etira Sir**
going put said dance if-finished God

cue rehcayquira, -wajacro-. 27. **Cuacayet rahsa raca**
sad will-be said as-a-result sun come

birira, -wajacro-. 28. **Cabara tinayca, -wajacro-.**
will-not said end-of-world will-darken said

29. **Eyta bira as yajac tamo sihwawa.** 30. **Asri cat chinra**
therefore I did about think I also die

bitiru. 31. **As cat usar ay owar chaquinro, -wajacro-.**
not-go I also here dance together will-put said

32. **Cuacayet José Ignacioat, "Ihyu," -wajacro, Sewaya**
as-a-result Sisira okay said Sewaya

acat.
before

33. **Etacro.**
that-is-all

1. 'Sewaya chose Sisira to sing the dance. 2. Sewaya said, 3. "Let the men sing hard!" he said. 4. "If they don't sing hard won't the world come to an end?" he said. 5. "Won't we be finished off?" he said. 6. "Therefore rehearse hard!" he said. 7. "Therefore God put his message in your hearts," he said. 8. Sewaya said, 9. "If (you) rehearse the dance, (you) won't perish," he said. 10. "The world won't end," he said. 11. "In the land of the dance, the dance can't be ended," he said. 12. "Therefore you sing it," he

said. 13. "I say this before God," he said. 14. "Therefore, when I die, sing it without putting it aside," he said. 15. "God established its singing. 16. God gave it. 17. He didn't give it to another tribe." 18. He said that to Sisira, Sewaya did. 19. Therefore, do that very carefully. 20. "Dance, let another and another, and another sing it without stopping," he said. 21. If you would stop, won't we ourselves be finished off?" he said. 22. "When I die, don't soon fight over that," he said. 23. "There in the land of a lot of people, another should rehearse," he said. 24. "Then the dance will keep going not being finished off," he said. 25. "The praying won't be finished off," he said. 26. "If the dance should stop, God will be sad," he said. 27. "If that happens, the sun won't rise," he said. 28. "The world will end," he said. 29. "Therefore, think about what I did. 30. I am not going to die either. 31. I also will be here with the dance," he said.

32. As a result, José Ignacio (Sisira) said "Okay" to Sewaya.

33. That is all.'

8.3 Asking Permission

Ia

1. **Asa Sĩsiru, bah quin raquira.** 2. **Asa bi canora**
I Sisira (name) you where came. I what work

bi yacajar ruwajar chian bi ejer eban bĩsari
what can't-do can't-work field what can't-cut corn where

ricajat requit bah quin as urãr 3. **bowari chihay**
can't-plant because you where I there woods ask

raquira. Eteiru bãrira ajayra bi tacajatro. 4. **As**
came cut not-being mine what can't-chop I

ac wan ac wãtaica?
for word will-say

5. **Bĩsari?**
where

6. **Erar urar amari catojoquea.**
there where I-myself started

Ib

7. **Ey ajata ajatra teũtiro.** 8. **Bõwatra uwãy**
that I I-contrast say-not forest-contrast people

teyãriri bãrira. 9. **Ey cat uway tĩũic terir**
clearing not-being that also people's cut clearing

bãrira. 10. **Bay cat bemãy cajac terera ajatat**
not-being yours also your-own chosen clearing I

tẽ̃tiro. 11. **Ejata tiw̃a.** 12. **Bita tíw̃intara ey**
say-not that-much cut how-much will-clear that

catan Siratan usãrira uwac jãja Tunb ac jaja
also God here people-for put Tunebo for put

tiw̃in jaja taquin jajaquira. 13. **Ajatra tẽ̃tiro.**
to-cut-a-lot put to-chop put I say-not

14. **Eyra tiw̃a. Tacwa.** 15. **Bita sẽhw̃actara.**
that cut chop how-much you-think

IIa

16. **Ajay cat bah quin ey chahay raquira. Ajay urar**
I also you where that ask came I there

rahr-owari. 17. **Bar ajay cat bi tacajar requita.**
other-side no I also what can't-cut because

18. **Uni eya bisari?**
true that where

19. **Ajay cat tera catojoqueya,**
I also clearing started

ajay urar Rusamãquin. 20. **Ajay cat ey tiw̃in.**
I there Rusamaquin (place) I also that to-cut

21. **Amarat bitinat tẽ̃ bec tere.** 22. **Ajaya chihay**
my-own father cut started clearing I to-ask

raquira. 23. **Bahat istitira tíw̃tiru.** 24. **Eya**
came you know-not-contrast cut-not that

bahat usar bitara wacatatara ey raquira.
you here how will-say that came

IIb

25. **Uni tíw̃aytatara.** 26. **Ajat wan tẽ̃tiro, bemar**
true if-to-clear I say-not your-own

bitín teyara. 27. **Istiyayan istiyayan era usar as**
father clearing another another that here I

quin che wiqui ajat bar bar ac wanro. 28. **Ey ac**
where a-lot come I already word say that word

wati eyra bisari yacajarcuano. 29. **Ruwajar cacan**
say-not that where can't-work can't-work land

urucuano. 30. **Sasan wacjan quiri cuacayatra iran**
is-narrow children sons a-lot as-a-result food

bacan bita uira tirti rehcuano. 31. **Eyta bira**
food how-much that good-around-not is-so therefore

uwin tẽẽtiro. Tiña. 32. **Bowarira cajc era esar**
people say-not cut! woods land that there

siba bar rucua barira, tiña! 33. **Tiñun ac**
palm(type) no palm(type) not-being cut! to-cut for

ucana Sir imatan eyta waquir jaja tiñin jaja wiquir
God himself like-that said put to-cut put gave

jaja rara jaja, tiña. 34. **Ajat wan tẽẽtiro.** 35. **Istiyeyan**
put gave put cut I say-not another

istiyeyan imar terira tiña. 36. **Era ajat wan tẽẽ cat**
another own clearing cut then I say also

era owaran eta jawi. Tiñi. (atan) Ewan Siran
that together like-that do cut then God

ahnicuano. 37. **Sir iman cuacra cuar imar wahy**
happy-is God him-self above but ourselves looks

itro. Toro. 38. **Etat cac camera wacaro.** 39. **Etar bar,**
sees a-lot then mouth before say then now

uwinu, tiña.
people cut

40. **Ihya. Eytatara isay tiñinro.**
okay then ours will-cut

Ia

1. Sis..a, I have come to you. 2. Because I don't have a field to clear and I don't have any place to plant corn I have come to you. 3. Not having cleared the undergrowth I don't have any place to chop the trees down. 4. Will you give me permission (to clear land)?

5. Where?

6. Over there where I started to clear.

Ib

7. 8. 9. If it is woods and not someone else's clearing, I won't say anything against it. 10. If it is your own that you have cleared I won't say anything. 11. Cut that much. 12. God has put the land here for the people to clear so clear as much as you want. 13. I won't say anything. 14. Cut it. Chop it. 15. However much you think (you need).

IIa

16. I have also come to ask you for some land over there on the other side. 17. I came because I don't have any land to clear.

18. Really, where do you want land?

19. There in Rusamaquin where I already started to clear. 20. 21. 22. I came to ask if I could cut and clear where my father started. 23. I wouldn't clear without your knowing it. 24. I came to see what you would say.

IIb

25. 26. Really, if you clear your own father's field I won't say anything. 27. Another and another come to me like that and I give permission. 28. If I didn't give permission they wouldn't have any place to work. 29. They can't work narrow land. 30. It takes a lot of food to go around if they have a lot of children. 31. Therefore I don't say anything to the people. Cut! 32. Cut where there are no fruit bearing palms. 33. God himself put the land to be used. 34. I won't say anything. 35. Each one clear your own field! 36. I say anything about that? Together clear! Then God will be happy. 37. God himself is above but he is watching us. He is there. 38. (I) speak before him. 39. Therefore, people, clear (the fields).

40. Okay, then we are going to clear ours.

8.4 Plea for protection

1. **Asa Sir ocor conin sehw̃aro.** 2. **Tet ocor conin**
I God over to-beg think Father over to-beg

sehw̃aro. 3. **Urar carin ocor conin, oyin ocor conin**
think there leader over to-beg rich over to-beg

sẽhw̃aro. 4. **Bitaca is cuitaran usar ajatra bar wanora.**
think how we for here I already spoke

5. **Ajatra bar tew̃ro.** 6. **Ajatra bar siw̃ur jano.**
I-contrast already spoke I already taught put

7. **Ehcur jano.** 8. **Bítarum bar sĩw̃icuar, antó**
told put how-much already taught still

bahnacra sĩw̃tiro. 9. **Awan búcoyan bãwoyan echí**
all taught-not soon second-time third-time more

sĩw̃inro. 10. **Eyta bira urar carinatan, óyinatan, reya**
will-teach therefore there leader rich king

wiyar un wiyara urara carin bequi, oyin bequi, biquiatan,
side side there leader goes rich goes going-one

wiquiatan as cuitar cat waca racar tewa racar conro.
returning-one me for also say want talk want beg

11. **Sir ub cahmor, tet ub cahmor as cajc cuitaran,**
God eyes before father eyes before my land for

ica cuitaran, as sasa cuitaran, wacjí cuitara, orata
earth for my child for sons for gold-one

ríwata siwi cuitaran, cuiquí cuitaran, yeẽwi cuitaran,
whites taken for cut-off for married for

waca racara conru. 12. **Teẽa rácara conro.** 13. **Bucoyran**
speak want beg talk want beg second

eytaran, bãwoyran eytaran, uw quen uira Tunub
like-that third like-that people where this Tunebo

quen uira, oratan eyta, riwatan yeẽti acu, titi
where this rich like-that white marry-not for rape-not

acu, cohnti acu, waquír jájaqui, teẽir jájaqui.
for conceive-not for said put talked put

14. **Is cuitar waca racar, teẽa racar conro.** 15. **Chira racar,**
we for say want talk want beg fields want

cuanar racar eyta racar conro. 16. **Bucoy quenra bawoy**
live want like-that want beg second third

quenra, ac wacun batro. 17. **Sasa quenra, wacji quenra,**
word say not child for son for

uway quenra, Tunbay Tetat anum, Sirat anum, teẽir anum,
people for Tunebo's father God talk

conã anum yinir anum usãr queni, cayba queni, orat eyta
beg born here other-tribe rich like-that

riwat eyta titi acu, conti acu, yeẽti
white like-that rape-not for conceive-not for marry-not

acu waquir jaja teẽir jajacuano. 18. **Rahr owar urar**
for said put talk put other side there

wiqui uri raqui uri oran uri, riwan uri bequi uri,
return there come there gold there white there go there

wiqui uri, wiqui acan raqui acan, ti beno. Cehna
return there return come rape go conceive

beno. 19. **Imaratrun witiro.** 20. **Imar abinatrum,**
go we-ourselves give-not ourselves mothers

tetinatrum, caja catrum, chija catrum witiru.
fathers pick and ask also give-not

21. **Eyta cuar eyra is anar siu siu becaru.**
like-that but they-cont us off take take go

22. **Eya urat rahr owar wiqui úriat.** 23. **Urar antio**
they there other side return that-one there Antioquía

wiqui uri Berayin wiquí uriat. 24. **Uria siwur**
return there Medellín return that-one they take

cuitar, cuiquir cuitar, beyar cuitar, cunir cuitar, caquir
for cut-off for take for grow for take

cuitar, wic berora. 25. **Ra berora.** 26. **Cohna berora.**
for give take sell take conceive take

27. **Cuacãyatra ajat yaquit is cuitar wati cuacayet**
as-a-result I do us for say-not as-a-result

teẽti cuacayet, usar uwich cuitaran, Tunbich cuitaran
talk-not as-a-result here people for Tunebo for

urw cuitaran, rehm cuitaran, wati cuacayet, teẽti
people for root for say-not as-a-result talk-not

cuacayetrum, ajãt to yaquit Sir imati ehchi wiquiriri
as-a-result I a-lot do God himself more give

chati eyra. 28. **Sir cueora.** 29. **Tet cueora.** 30. **Acan**
put-not that God sad-maybe Father sad soul

cueora. 31. **Uwan cueora.** 32. **Tetan cueora.**
sad-maybe people sad-maybe Father sad-maybe

33. **Teẽjãc cueora.** 34. **Ey cat eyta ac**
one-who-talked sad-maybe he also like-that for

waquir jajaquir, teẽir jajaquir cohnin jajaquir, cuiin
said put talked put to-conceive put raise

jajaquir, wiquin jajaquir, ran jajaquir barira.
put to-give put to-sell put not-being

35. **Is uwi jat yaquitrum, Tunbuat yaquitrum uchrum**
we people do-contrast Tunebo do-contrast this

eytacuano.
like-that-is

36. **Cohnarin cuãcayat, cuirin cuãcayat, wiquirin cuãcayat,**
conceive doing cut-off doing give doing

rarin cuãcayat, Sir imata Tet imata imar bar ac
sell doing God self Father self us-selves then word

wata jãcataro. 37. **Eyra ajatrán uní wacaro.** 38. **Uchrum**
give will that I truth tell this

eyta binan wanro. 39. **Imar sutín eya, banín**
thus like like us-selves eradicate he finish-off

eya yayin eya, chiwin eya Tetat yayin Sirat yayin ima
he eat he steal he Father eat God eat he-self

chajac imat ocuajãc imat yayin eya sutín eya
put he-self planted he-self eat he eradicate he

banín eya yac bec bin cohna bec bin
finish-off he search arrive like conceive arrive like

tiy bec binitra ori bẽquira. 40. Cuatan isi uwat
rape arrive like well arrived but we people

quenra Tunbat quenra, oru quenra chechu quenra
Tunebo white-man colonist

yehẽin acu tihĩn acu siwin acu cuiquĩn acu cohnĩn
marry in-order-to rape to take to cut-off to conceive

acu waquĩr jati teẽir jati. 40a. Cajc
in-order-to saying not-put speaking not-put land

siwat, bowar siwat, chajac siwat, bijac siwat,
taking woods taking put-things taking came-ones taking

oru wijac chechu wijac, Tetãt wijac Sirat wijac,
white-man gave colonist gave Father gave God gave

wijac uri, rajac uri, is usãr uw ujatra, Tunb
gave there delivered there we here people this Tunebos

ũjatra siwin acu cuiquin acu catõn acu
this take in-order-to cut-off in-order-to marry to

ucan acu eri tiin acu cohnĩn acu waquĩr jati teẽir
take to there rape to procreate to saying not-do speaking

jati. 40b. Oya beyin raya beyin canorã beyin yacut
not-do clothes take money take work take ocean

beyin ruwat beyin cacut beyin temot beyin, Tetãt eyta
take take land take change take Father thus

Sirat eyta, wiquir jaja, rara jajac, waquĩr jajac, teẽir
God thus give put give put said put speak

jajac, is uwayrum bahntiro, ey cat. 41. Ey cat tanir chinti
put we people not-end it too it too not-forget . . .

eyrum, Sir imat rẽquiram anto cuanir waquĩr chãjacan
if God self beginning not-yet dawn saying put

isayrum im eytaro. 42. Cuãcayat orata eytaj
ours same is-thus being-so white-man thus

rĩwayra eytaj batro. 43. Biqui eyra, eytaj wiqui eyra
white-man thus is-not come him thus come him

eytaj eyin chĩhtara eytaj urara eytaj batro. 44. Eyra
thus they message thus thinking thus is-not they

sicor orira wanictin riwara wanictin cohna racarawin
again white become white-man become procreate want

cuiyi racarawin ita racarawin cuana racarawin yaya
cut-off want-to live want-to live want-to eat

racarawin rehcaro. 45. Wah ititro. 46. Etar ti bero.
want-to remain become live then rape go

47. **Cohna bécaro.** 48. **Isra bar conro.** 49. **Cuara**
procreate go we now plead however

isay sutaytara otrum ribrum is sûtaytara,
ours whether-perish white-man white-man us eradicate-if

quir jacataytara awanan itchacayquira. 50. **Cuata is uwajat**
man if-be soon will-see but we people

waquita is uw at icara wiquir jajac rara jajac uchat
saying our people hand in gave put gave put this

51. **Usar ur ujan cucan ujan uw jajac, Tunub**
here hearts these people these people put Tunebo

jajac usât rehm jajac tucuara jajac. 52. **Siyati chajac**
put here race put roots put naked put

uchan ques uw cat ujan sut cuâcayat ora
this root people too this perish happening white-man

quenra riwa quenra ista bari cuana bari yaya bari
white-man live not live not eat not

cohna 53. **Rahsan wa bar ucar wabari eyra.**
procreate sun rise not sky appear-not if

54. **Tet imatan uchta waquir chajacro.**
Father self thus said put

1. 'I am thinking about praying to God. 2. I am thinking about praying to the Father. 3. I am thinking about requesting of the chiefs and rich men there. 4. I have already spoken many times for us. 5-7. I have told them and explained to them (the situation here). 8. I have told some, however, not all of it yet. 9. Soon I'll tell some more. 10. Therefore I will beg the chief there, the rich ones there, the ones that come and go, to speak up and defend me also. 11. I will beg before God, the Father that they speak for us in defense of my land, my earth, my children, sons and daughters concerning the people who take them away from us and marry them. 12. I beg that they speak for us. 13. Twice, thrice, here among the people, among the Tunebos, for whites and people who come in God established that they should not marry, procreate with or rape (Tunebos). 14. I beg for defense, for help. 15. I beg for our fields and our life. 16. I don't want to speak two or three times more. 17. God the Father determined and established that the whites and people who come not rape, procreate with, or marry the children or daughters of the Tunebos here or from Bócuta. 18. The people from the other side, the whites who came are raping and procreating. 19. We ourselves aren't giving in marriage. 20. We ourselves the ones who asked God for our daughters aren't giving them. 21. However, they are taking our children. 22-24. The ones who came from the other side, the ones from Antioquía and Medellín having taken them and cut them off

from us are giving them, 25-26. selling them and procreating with them. 27-33. That being the situation I spoke up for and defended the people but it didn't help. It is important to speak up for the pure race of Tunebos. If it is not done well for us, probably God himself would be sad. The souls of the people are probably sad. 34. He also did not establish that the children be raised and cut off and given and sold. 35. We the Tunebo people have done it (spoken) but that is the way it is. 36. (If it were) raising thus, cutting off thus, giving, selling, God himself, the Father himself, he would have to give us ourselves the word. 37. I am telling the truth. 38. That is the way it is. 39. If we are to perish, to be finished off, to be eaten, lost, if God were to eat up what he put and established, the marrying ones, the procreating ones, the raping ones would have rightly come. 40. But, on the other hand, it was not established for us Tunebos to marry, rape, cut off, raise (children) with whites. 40a. What God, having thought about land, woods, established things, trips, gave to the whites and colonists; what he gave, he didn't ordain that we here Tunebos take it, cut it off, touch it, rape it, procreate with them. 40b. What God ordained of taking weaving, money, work, meat, land, ours as Tunebos won't run out. 41. If it isn't forgotten, what God originally ordained, then we'll survive. 42. But the whites and colonists are not like that. 43. The ones that come and go here, their hearts don't think that way. 44. The whites and colonists want to raise children with Indians, to cut off, to eat it. 45. To become and live. 46. Then they rape. 47. They procreate children. 48. We plead. 49. However, whether we will perish, whether the whites will eradicate us, or whether we will remain abundant, soon it will be seen. 50. But, what we people say, what was given into our hands, it says it will not be that way. 51-52. If these people, the Tunebos, the pure race, the real Tunebos, if they perish, then the whites, the colonists will not live. They will not eat or reproduce. 53. The sun will not rise. 54. God himself established it thus.'

8.5 Demands and threats (an excerpt)

74. **Etara cat Sauwirā:**
then also Sauwirā (name)

Bura, Bura, Buru, as
Bill Bill Bill my

wac ari, Biscantari? 75. **Bah jor usara wacuano.**
daughter where where-is you with here say

76. **In rowi.** 77. **As in wiwi.** 78. **Amar sicor**
quick bring I quick give myself again

in wiwi -wajacro-. 79. **Bah wacjira barira bahra**
quickly give said your child not-being you

witiro, -wajacro-. 80. **Amara jor itinro, wajacro.**
give-no said myself with will-live said

81. **(Uh) Ey burat wajacro:**
he Bill said

82. **(Uh) Batro. (uch Concha usra cuat uw eya, Pablu.)**
no (girl here but people that Paul)

83. **(Eh) Eya Bural wajacro:**
he Bill said

84-96. At this time Bill reasons it out and refuses to give her over saying she would just run away again.

98. **Etat Sauwirá Bura quin**
then Sauwirā Bill to

99. **Ihyu eytatara behma joran cuic teti jawi**
okay if-like-that you with cut throw-not put

-wajacro-. Bah cat usar tecuas eytiri.
said you also here fight like-that

100. **Eytatara Tacrin cat Blanco cat Chibara**
that-being-if Tegria-people also Whites also Chibara

uw cat cura ay bat witi jawi. 101. **Tacrin**
people also arrive good not give-not put Tegria

uw yeẽ ayti jaẽi. 102. **Blanco cat yeẽ ayti**
people marry send-not put White also marry send-not

jaẽi. 103. **Chibara uw cat yeẽ ayti jawi.**
put Chibara people also marry send-not put

104. **Eyta yeẽyat asan behma tecan cuitatro,**
like-that when-marry I yourself fight more

-wajacro-. 105. **Uw wicyera, blanco wicyera, Tacrin**
said people give-if white give-if Tegria

wicyera behma tecan cuitatro, -wajacro-, Bura quino.
give-if yourself fight more said Bill to

108. **Bural wajacro:**
Bill said

109. **Witiro. Witiru. Ihyu. Ihyu Ihyu.** 110. **(Uh) Ey**
give-not give-not okay, okay okay they

erara cat blancoat cat Tacriinat cat Chibara uwat
there also white also Tegrias also Chibara people

cat yeẽ ayata cura behmat tecro -wajacro-.
also marry send arrive yourself fight said

111. **Ey asan tecan cuitru.** 112. **Behma**
that I fight a-lot yourself

jor buquinru, wajacro, Sauwirat Bura quin. 113. **As**
with will-hit said Sauwira Bill to I

carcel icara chaquin yehnyat eh ajat cat bah bar
jail in will-put when-rising I also you already

buquinro, wajacru, 114. **Amara qaqui ques icara ucha**
will-hit said my-own daughter root in this

yano, wacataro.
did will-say

115. **Uh eya ay batru. (Uh) Eytaru.**
oh that good not like-that

116. **Etacru. Pablu.** 117. **Eyan ey chawucuano.**
that's-all Paul that that story

74. 'Then Sauwira said, 74a. "Bill, Bill, Bill, where is my daughter? 75. They say she is here with you. 76. Bring her quickly. 77. Give her back to me quickly," he said.

78-97. Bill answered that he would not return her, because she would just run away again. Then Bill got mad. 98. Then Sauwira said to Bill, 99. "Okay if it's thus, don't cut her off from yourself," he said. "You also here she'll fight with. 100. Bill, don't do bad by giving her to the Tegrias, or the Whites, or the people from Chibara. 101. Don't let the Tegrias marry her. 102. Don't let the whites marry her either. 103. Don't let the Chibaras marry her either. 104. When they marry her it will be the time for me to fight with you. 105. When she is given to the people or to the whites or to the Tegrias, it will be time to fight you," he said to Bill.

108. Bill said, 109. "I won't give her. I won't give her. Okay. Okay. Okay. 110. If whites or Tegrias, or Chibaras are permitted to marry her you will fight," he said.

111. "I fight a lot. 112. I'll hit you," he said, Sauwira to Bill. 113. "If they start to put me in jail I'll hit you," he said. 114. "I will say that I did it because of my daughter."

115. "Oh, that's not good (to do) that."

116. "That's all, Paul. 117. That ends the story."'

8.6 Request to marry

1. **Asan wiya batro.** 2. **Bahatán asan wiyan wícatayca,**
I wife not-have you me wife give

ay yehwinin? 3. **Asan rácaraca?** 4. **Asra rácatro.**
well marry me like I like

5. Eyan răcarica? 6. As uch tayon sĩhw̃aro. 7. Bitac
she like I this ask think long-time

asan wĩcatayca?
me give

1. 'I have no wife. 2. Will you give me a wife to marry? 3. Does she like me? 4. I like her. 5. Does she like me? 6. I think to ask this. 7. Will you give her to me forever?'

8.7 A big favor

1. Bitaca bahan bẽtayca? 2. Imar ubach itay? 3. Imar
soon you can go our house see our

eb itay? 4. Imar cajc itay? 5. Uwatan băratan bitara
corn see our land see people Tunebo how

yătitara 6. Riotăn bitara yătitara, bahta itay biwi.
if-not-do white-man how if-not-do you see go

7. Ititan bitara yacăyatan, bahatăn chihtăn usăr as ac
seeing lots doing you word here as to

row̃i. 8. . . .
bring

1. 'Can you go soon, 2. to see our house, 3. to see our corn, 4. to see our land, 5. to see if the Tunebos have done anything (or not)? 6. You go see if the white man has done anything (or not). 7. When you see, if they have done anything, you bring the word here to me. 8. . . .'

8.8 Family feud

1. As acu bahat iri anătaro. 2. Batro. 3. Rẽhrati
me for you food cook-will no no-one

anăjatro. 4. Usăr us batro. 5. Asra ăntiro.
cannot-cook here folk not I not-cook

6. Asra yătiro. 7. Asra eta anini wătiro.
I not-do I thus cook not-say

1. 'You cook food for me! 2. No! 3. There is no one to cook. 4. There is nobody here. 5. I (emph) won't cook! 6. I (emph) won't do it! 7. I didn't say I would cook.'

8.9 Injunction against stealing

1. Bahan usatro. 2. Behmaran esatro, wacaro. 3. Ucha
you (sg) here you (pl) there say this

ajat amar tetat waqui rahcwi, wacaro. 4. Cucaja jitara.
I myself father say listen say ear if-have

Utararum bahi tecuatiro. 5. Uni wacaro, wacaro. 6. Amar
thus you not-fight truly speak say I

bari, behmaran conu jăcataro, wacaro. 7. Cajca ques
not you-self small make say land about

tĕyara ques bowara ques chi ques canora ques oya
field about woods about field about work about clothes

ques waqui ques tuni ques . . . amara barira uwat behmar
about speak about pay about I-self not people you-pl

yacajaca, wacju, sasu? 8. Eta bira, sasu cuaya
can-do son kids thus being kids poor

sinti jawi.
learn-not do

1. 'You (sg) are here. 2. You (pl) are there, he says. 3. Listen to this, what I myself, your father says, he says. 4. If you have ears. Thus I am not fighting you. 5. I am speaking the truth, he says. 6. When I am not here, you will make yourself small, he says. 7. About the land, fields, woods, cleared fields, work, belongings, speaking, paying, when I am not here, won't people do you (bad), kids? 8. Therefore, kids, don't do stupid things.'

8.10 Ordering work done

1. **Teray cuanir cara etat bahnăc bar yăjacro. 2. Yăyara**
six dawn (vb) too then all -- eat eat

cara asa ucasi rehjecro. 3. Canori yati ucasi
too I ten (days) remained work not-do ten (days)

ĭtchacro. 4. Eya ĭbtatan asan cuĭt sĕojacro. 5. Etara
sat it trail me much tired then

cănori yati ĭthacaro. 6. Etar as quin tetat wajacro.
work not-do sat then me to father said

7. **Asra bah bar tan jăjacro. 8. Uni yarsaro, wajacro.**
now you -- rested put truly it's-fine said

9. **Is chi cătaro, wajacro.** (End of quote)
our field clear said

1. 'Then, in six days, I ate everything. 2. Having eaten all, I remained ten days. 3. I stayed ten days without working. 4. The trail had tired me out. 5. Then I stayed without working. 6. Then my father said to me, 7. "Now you have rested. 8. It is truly adequate," he said. 9. "You will clear our field," he said.'

NOTES

1 My awareness of the need for discourse analysis dates from Robert E. Longacre's workshop in Colombia in 1975. Although earlier I had studied narrative material, translation of Scripture showed me the necessity of getting a better understanding of nonnarrative material, especially of hortatory structure. Fresh ideas in this regard have come from Joseph E. Grimes and from my wife, as well as from a concordance of Tunebo texts, which was produced by the Joint Linguistic Information Retrieval Project of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Oklahoma Research Institute, and sponsored by Grant GS-270 of the National Science Foundation.

2 The Tunebo language is spoken by a group of about three thousand people who reside in the Eastern Andes of Colombia near the border with Venezuela, in a region known as Sarare. The phonemes of Tunebo are: consonants: **b, h, k, k^{w}, m, n, r, s, š, t, w, ẅ, y, ʔ**; vowels: **a, e, i, o, u**. All examples are given in the practical orthography which has the following equivalents: **/k/ = c** and **qu**; **/š/ = ch**; **/h/ = j**; and **/ʔ/ = h**; **/š/** and **/h/** vary freely in many words. Morphophoneimically, **/r/** becomes **/t/** preceding **/r/**. The texts used in this study were given by José Ignacio Afanador, Buswara Cobaria, Leonel Cobaria, and Pablo Cobaria.

3 The one exception to this is the use of the purpose rhetorical question, without any request unit, but carrying the meaning of imperative.

4 The question morpheme in Tunebo is final **-qui** or **-ca**.

5 In an early draft of this paper, the author stated that "Beekman and Callow (1979:84) suggest that in Koine Greek the third person imperative is used to soften a command." In checking with Callow regarding this statement, it was learned that this opinion is no longer held, so the statement has been deleted from section 6 of the article. (Editor's note)

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THE USE OF REPORTED SPEECH IN SARAMACCAN DISCOURSE

Naomi Glock

0 Introduction

Reported speech, both direct and indirect, is frequently found in Saramaccan[1] discourse. This paper examines the functions of reported speech in the following types of Saramaccan discourse: folktale narratives, travel narratives, and argumentative discourses. Special focus is given to the function of indirect speech within narrative discourse and to the relative functions of direct and indirect speech within argumentative discourse.[2]

1 Direct and indirect speech in narrative discourse

In studying the use of reported speech in Saramaccan narrative discourse, one notices that direct speech is used far more frequently than indirect speech.[3] However, when indirect speech is used in narrative discourse, it has some very well-defined functions.

In narrative discourse, one finds that the principal use of direct speech is in dialogue interactions between participants. Since indirect speech can best be analyzed in its relation to these direct speech dialogues, I begin by separating the uses of indirect speech that are parts of dialogues and those that are not.

Within dialogue reports, indirect speech may be used[4] in the following instances:

(a) In a dialogue interaction between two participants, one of whom is strongly dominant over the other. The speech of the dominant participant is reported with direct speech, and that of the other participant is reported with indirect speech.

(b) In a dialogue interaction between two participants, to reinforce a direct speech quote. A piece of information which is important to the development of the narrative can be

reported using direct speech and immediately before or afterwards reinforced with an indirect speech paraphrase.

Other than in dialogue reports, indirect speech is used in the following instances:

(a) As a single isolated speech report, not part of an interchange.

(b) When a speech report is needed in the coda, i.e., the explanation-of-origins part, of an origins folktale.

(c) To introduce a speech exchange, i.e., to report the first participant's first utterance in a speech exchange.

1.1 Use of indirect speech in dialogue reports

1.1.1 In speech exchanges between two equally dominant participants direct speech is used by both. However, when one gains the upper hand, his speech continues direct and the speech of the other may become indirect.

In the folktale "Anasi and Dumb," Anasi (i.e., Father Spider of African mythical origin) invites a man named Dumb to accompany him on an overnight hunting trip. In the original encounter, no one is dominant and the exchange is entirely in direct speech:

Nöö di a si ën kaa, hën a dëën wodi
now after he saw him already then he gave-him greetings

taki: Don wodi o.
saying Dumb greetings (EXCL)

Hën Don piki taa: Tangi tio.
then Dumb answered saying thanks uncle

Hën Tata Anasi taki dëën taa: Mi ko a i aki
then father Anasi said to-him saying I come to you here

fu un go a duumi matu a hondi.
for we go to sleep woods to hunt

Hën Don taa: Sö nö, Mati Anasi?
then Dumb said really friend Anasi

Hën Anasi taki: Aai.
then Anasi said yes

Hën Don taa: Söö, antoobi e, Tata Anasi.
then Dumb said so it's o.k. hear father Anasi

Hën Don seeka tefa a kaba...
then Dumb arranged until he finished

'When he (Anasi) saw him (Dumb) he greeted him saying, "Greetings, Dumb."

Dumb answered, "Greetings."

Father Anasi said to him, "I've come to you to ask you to go with me on an overnight hunting expedition."

Dumb said, "Really, Friend Anasi?"

Anasi said, "Yes."

Dumb said, "O.K., Father Anasi."

Then Dumb got things ready until he was finished....'

During the hunting trip, they keep trapping larger and larger animals. Dumb, who in this narrative is proven to be wiser than Anasi, takes the initiative by remarking (e.g.):

Tide u kisi alatu, ma amanjan u o-kisi akusuwe.
today we caught 'alatu' but tomorrow we (FUT)catch 'akusuwe'

'Today we caught an 'alatu' rodent but tomorrow we will catch an 'akusuwe' rodent.' (An 'akusuwe' is larger than an 'alatu'.)

Anasi falls for Dumb's trick by responding that he will not take his share today; he will await the animal they will trap tomorrow (since it will be larger). Anasi's response is always in indirect speech:

Hën Tata Anasi taa an o-tei di alatu.
then father Anasi said he(NEG) (FUT)take the 'alatu'

Te de kisi akusuwe amanjan nõõ a tei.
when they catch 'akusuwe' tomorrow then he take

'Then Father Anasi said that he wouldn't take the 'alatu' rodent. When they catch the 'akusuwe' rodent tomorrow, he will take that.'

This type of exchange occurs eight times in the narrative. Each time Dumb's statement is reported using direct speech and Anasi's response is reported using indirect speech. The reader is left with the distinct impression that Dumb is in control and that Anasi is merely the gullible victim of what is transpiring (which indeed he is).[3]

1.1.2 Another use of indirect speech is to reinforce a point in the narrative that has already been stated with direct speech.

In "The Legend of the Three Trees," the narrative begins with a long direct speech exchange between two big trees, in which they discuss what they would like to become if and when they are

felled. Having given their reasons for their desires, they then turn to a smaller tree and inquire about its plans.

The conversation between the two big trees and the little tree begins with direct speech. It concludes, however, with an indirect speech quote, which reinforces what has been said in the final direct speech quote:

... Fa u dë aki nöö ee de ko faa i aki tuwë a
how we are here now if they come fell you here throw on

goon, nöö un sooti wooko i kë fu de du ku i?
ground now which sort work you want for them do with you

Nöö hën di piki pau piki taa: Wë nönö baa,
so then the little tree answered saying well no brother

ma saandi e. Ma wan soni nöö mi sabi u taki
I(NEG) know hear but one thing only I know to say

taa, di soni Gadu kë, nöö hën musu pasa ku mi.
saying the thing God wants now it must happen with me

Nöö hën dee tu gaan pau taa: Söö, haika dee
so then those two big trees said so listen those

sösö naandë a o-taki. Hën wë mbei u taa a dë
worthless there he (FUT)say it well makes we say he is

mii jeti. Biga an sa' andi fa a taki.
child yet because he(NEG) know what for he say

Nöö hën de kosi di piki pau. De taa a dë
so then they insulted the little tree they said he was

wan sösö laulau piki mii. Nöö di de kosi
a worthless crazy little child so after they insulted

sö kaa, nöö de disa di taki ufö.
thus already they stopped the talk for-a-time

Nöö hën de dë tee a baka tu liba, nöö hën
so then they were until after two months so then

sëmbë ko a de ku matjau tuu...
person came to them with axe truly

'... "If they came and cut you down, what would you like them to do with you?"

The little tree answered, "Well, I really don't know. The only thing I know to say is that whatever God wants to happen, that should happen to me."

Then the two big trees said, "Listen to that ridiculous talk. That's why we said he is still a child, because he doesn't know what to say."

And they insulted the little tree. They said he was a worthless crazy little child. That ended the conversation.

Two months later, someone did come to them with an axe (just as they had thought)....'

The indirect speech forms here are used to restate what the two big trees had already said using direct speech: that the little tree was immature and irrational. The combination of direct speech followed by an indirect speech restatement (1) reinforces what has been said, (2) focuses attention on the hero of the story (i.e., the little tree), and (3) serves as a transition from conversation to action in the narrative.[6]

1.2 Use of indirect speech outside dialogue reports

1.2.1 Indirect speech sometimes occurs in isolation rather than as part of a speech exchange.

In "Woodpecker and the Rock," the different animals and birds are requested by the Chief to try their hand at splitting open an expanse of rock underneath which the river is flowing. After all the other animals and birds have made unsuccessful attempts, the woodpecker decides that he will try. His first attempt is unsuccessful, but with his second a chip is broken from the rock. After several more attempts, each of which is represented in this folktale by a song, the rock finally splits open and the river is made accessible. On one occasion, between pecking sessions, the following isolated direct speech quote is given:

Hön hën totomboti djombo vuu ko a'. Hën Gaama
(EXCL) then woodpecker jumped (IDEO) came there then Chief

taa a böö. Hën a böö te a kaba.
said he rest then he rested until he finished

'Then Woodpecker jumped over to another place. The Chief said that he should rest, and he rested for a while.'

Often an isolated indirect speech quotation states what a participant thinks or feels. In "The Three Wisdoms," the poor man who is the main participant in the folktale is given three loaves of bread as partial payment for twelve years' work. En route to his home, he stops for refreshment. His reasoning is reported in the form of indirect speech:

Nöö hën a tei di gaan bëëë fu a booko njan. Ma nöö
so then he took the big bread for he break eat but now

hën a ko pakisei taa a bi bai wan köni, nöö di
then he came thought saying he (PAST) buy a wisdom and the

köni taa ja musu abi langahati fu soni u
wisdom said you(NEG) must have greed for something to

njan tumusi. Nöö hën a koti wan u dee möön piki bëëë,
eat too-much so then he cut one of the more small bread

hën a njan...
then he ate

'Then he took the larger loaf. He was going to break and eat it when he thought, he had bought a piece of wisdom and the piece of wisdom said you shouldn't be too greedy. So he cut one of the smaller loaves instead and ate it....'

1.2.2 Where a speech act is needed in an explanation of origin at the conclusion of a folktale, indirect speech is used. This is no doubt due to the obvious preference for restricting direct speech to the story proper.

The folktale narrative "Woodpecker and the Rock" ends with several of these indirect speech closures. The content of the indirect speech quotations tells us why things are the way they are today. Thus specifically, the first example (a) tells why the woodpecker's head is red; the second example (b) tells why the woodpecker today incessantly pecks; and the third example (c) tells why the woodpecker pecks up in a tree.

(a) **Hën Gaama taa an saafa faa du ku ën. Hën**
then chief said he(NEG) know-how for-he do with him then

a tei di bë angisa hën a tai hën hedi.
he took the red scarf then he tied his head

'Then the Chief said that he didn't know how to reward him (Woodpecker). Then he took his red scarf and tied it on his (Woodpecker's) head' (i.e., explanation of how the woodpecker's head came to be red).

(b) **Hën a taa an sa disa soni u naki möön. Hën**
then he said he(NEG) can leave things to hit anymore it

wë a fika ta-diki pau domdomdom.
well he remains (CONT)dig trees (IDEO)

'Then he (Woodpecker) said he can't stop knocking on things any more. That is why he keeps digging trees **dom dom dom.**'

(c) **Gaama taki dëën tu taa te mama fëën dëdë**
chief said to-him also saying when mother of-his dies

an musu bei ën a goon A musu bei ën a liba.
he(NEG) must bury her on ground he must bury her above

Hën wë a ta-diki pau. Fa a ta-diki pau baaku
that-is-why he (CONT)dig trees how he (CONT)dig tree holes

dë nöö baaku wë a ta-diki.
there grave well he (CONT)dig

'The Chief said to him (Woodpecker) that when his mother dies he shouldn't bury her on the ground. He should bury her up high. That is why he continues to dig in trees: he is digging a grave.'

Although these indirect quotations report speech made by participants in the story, these speech events are outside the main part of the narrative, since they are reported after the climax (i.e., the main goal of the participants) has already been achieved.

1.2.3 Indirect speech is sometimes used to introduce a speech exchange which then continues in direct speech. This gives a smoother transition from narration to conversation.

In "The Three Wisdoms," the hero of the narrative decides to celebrate his homecoming. The invitation to the celebration and its response show this combination of indirect and direct speech:

...Nöö hën de kai dee sëmbë u di köndë taa,
so then they called the people of the village saying

sö de boi sukuati, nöö de musu ko mbei de bebe.
thus they cooked cocoa so they must come make them drink

Hën dee sëmbë taa: Söö wë antoobi e, un tei, nöö
then the people said so well all-right hear you take and

u ta-ko.
we (CONT)come

'Then they (the hero and his wife) called the people of the village and told them that hot chocolate had been prepared, let them come and drink some.

Then the people said, "Good. Get it ready and we will come."'

1.3 Speech acts in travel narrative

An examination of three travel narratives, related by different narrators, indicates that speech acts occur less frequently in travel narratives than in other types of Saramaccan narratives. Perhaps this is because the emphasis is on the different stages of the journey rather than on the action or words of the participants.

The only occurrence of speech in these three travel narratives is at the beginning or ending of a stage in the journey. In contrast to other narrative types, travel narratives favor indirect speech, indicating that these speech quotations are outside the main action of the narrative.

A typical example of a travel narrative speech quotation is the following:

Lamë ko a Foto taa mi musu seeka soni,
Lame came to Paramaribo saying I must arrange things

woo go a Saamaka. Nöö hën mi seeka soni...
we(FUT) go to Saramaccan so then I arranged things

'Lame came to the city and said I should get things ready, we would go to Saramaccan country. So I got things ready....'

(This construction is similar to the isolated indirect speech quotation mentioned in 1.2.1, which is also followed by the appropriate action:

'The Chief said that he should rest, and he rested for a while.')

2 Direct and indirect speech in argumentative discourse

2.1 General principles

In contrast with the infrequent use of indirect speech in narrative discourse is its frequent occurrence in argumentative discourse. The contrast between the functions of direct speech and those of indirect speech in such discourse shows which information belongs to the main argument and which is peripheral to it. The following principles summarize the use of direct and indirect speech in Saramaccan argumentative discourse:

Direct speech is used to highlight information that belongs to the main argument, or to show strong emotion.

Indirect speech is used either to reinforce main argument information previously given in direct speech or to give information that is peripheral to the main argument but must be given anyway.

2.2 Illustration of these principles in an argumentative text

These principles are illustrated in the taped text "Letter to Dawi."[8] The occasion for the letter is the denial of a request that the speaker, Kelema, had made. He had asked the people in his wife's ancestral village, Awali Konde, for permission to bury his

wife, Tombe, in his own village, Winikii, when she dies. This request had been violently rejected. Now in this letter Kelema appeals to Dawi, Tombe's maternal uncle (in Saramaccan society the relative most directly responsible for her) to consider his case.[9]

2.2.1 Content of text summarized in English

As an aid to the discussion, a summary of the content of "Letter to Dawi" is given in English. (The text in the original Saramaccan is some 250 clauses long and space alone precludes presentation of the whole of it.) In this summary, indirect quotations are underlined and direct quotations are in boldface type. This convention is necessary as almost all of the argument is presented in the form of reported speech (either direct or indirect) embedded within reported speech. In addition, the discourse has been divided into ten sections according to content; these sections are numbered at the beginning of each section. (Information in parentheses is implicit, or implied in the context in which the tape was made, and it is here made explicit for better understanding of the discussion.)

The first section of the letter (0) is the greeting section. The body of the tape-letter is the remainder (sections 1-9), all of which is a reported speech discourse embedded as the object of the verb 'saying' in the transitional sentence which ends the greetings section:

(0) Kelema sends greetings to Undercaptain Dawi. He says it has been a long time since they've met. He's missed him and wants to send greetings to him and to the others there at Molon saying: (two indirect speech reports)

(1) Around Christmastime, two boys arrive[10] in a boat and tell Kelema that two of the sisters of his wife, Tombe, have died. They further say that if Tombe wants to attend the funeral ceremonies, she is to meet them at the river the following morning. (two indirect speech reports)

(2) Kelema and his wife go to Awali Konde for the funeral ceremonies. Because they are delayed longer than expected, Kelema decides to come to some understanding with the people of Awali Konde (Tombe's ancestral village) about where Tombe will be buried when she dies. (one indirect reflexive speech report)

(3) Kelema brings up the subject with the people of Awali Konde. In an aside to Dawi (to whom he is making this tape) he reminds him of their original agreement: Dawi had given Kelema his wife to take with him to his village. He then asks the people of Awali Konde to let him bury Tombe in his own village when she dies. (three indirect speech reports)

(4) The people of Awali Konde react with anger that Kelema would even dare to ask such a thing. (one indirect speech report)

(5) Kelema is taken aback. He reminds Dawi again of their original agreement and then gives more detail on what the people of Awali Konde said. (two indirect speech reports)

(6) He then responds to the people of Awali Konde in disbelief that they would refuse his request, telling them that **he knew that if he died there at Awali Konde, the people of the village would bury him**; (they would expect him to do the same for his wife if she died in Kelema's village). The people of Awali Konde react violently to this argument, saying that **if he died in their village they would immediately send his body away in a boat--with his church!** (two direct speech reports. This is the first occurrence of direct speech in the body of this letter.)

(7) Kelema is hurt by their vehement response. (He decides to try one last argument, in which he goes back to the time when he was first given his wife to take with him to his village. This argument, which begins with indirect speech and switches almost immediately to direct speech, can be summarized as follows:)

(7a) Some time ago, when his children were smaller, several people of Molon (the village where his wife was raised) were planning to have their children baptized. Kelema decided to baptize his as well. (one indirect reflexive speech report)

(7b) After the baptism, he realized that he needed to talk to Dawi (who, as the children's mother's uncle, was also one of their legal guardians). He was afraid to face Dawi (who was not a 'church person') so he asked a friend to accompany him (for moral support). He would confess that he had baptized his children. (two indirect speech reports, one of which is embedded in the other)

(7c) (Contrary to Kelema's expectations) Dawi was not angry. He said it was all right for Kelema to baptize his children as long as he did not baptize his wife. (one indirect speech report)

(7d) Then Kelema asked his friend if he would accompany him to see Nawaniso (the woman who had raised his wife, so that he could confess to her also). The friend reassured him that he didn't need moral support this time. (two indirect speech reports)

(7e) Kelema then went to Nawaniso and confessed that he had baptized the children. Nawaniso responded genially that he

hadn't done wrong; as long as the church is around we may as well take advantage of it since we never know when we are going to die. (two speech reports, the first indirect, the second direct)

(7f) Kelema then refers back to the conversation with Dawi and tells the people of Awali Konde more of what Dawi had said: **A woman in Dawi's village had been married to a 'church person' and had been baptized. She had afterwards been divorced and sent back to her village. This left the villagers in a quandary: there is no church in the village, yet the woman cannot take part in the village religious ceremonies because she has been baptized.** (They would also not know how to bury her when she dies.) Kelema summarizes what Dawi had implied (and may have said): if Kelema divorces his wife before there is a church at Molon, he will be in trouble with Dawi. Therefore, Kelema should take his wife to live with him in his village (so that the chance for a divorce would be lessened). (three speech reports, the first direct, the others indirect and reinforcing the first)

(7g) Kelema ends his argument with a plea that **the people of Awali Konde be kind to him as well and let him bury his wife in his own village as he had requested.** (one direct speech act)

(8) The people again vehemently deny Kelema's request saying that **that will never happen.** (one direct speech report)

(9) (Despairingly, Kelema makes one last thrust.) He tells them that **he will tell Dawi** what they had said **and he will see if Dawi tells him that** his wife has to be buried at Awali Konde. **He concludes that the people of Awali Konde are just trying to make trouble for him, since they have never yet been known to go and get the body of one of their people who has died in another village.** (one direct speech report with two embedded indirect speech reports)

The tape-letter then concludes with a request to Dawi to let him (Kelema) know what he thinks about the matter. This also is in direct speech.

2.2.2 Summary of the arguments in the text

The arguments, then, that Kelema gives to the people of Awali Konde in his plea that they grant his request are as follows (implications not explicitly stated are in parentheses):

1. Dawi himself (to minimize the possibility of Kelema and his wife's getting divorced as the other couple had done) had given

Kelema his wife to take with him to his village (and be under his care. Why may he not then care for her burial as well?) (section 7a-f. This is the only argument reinforced by indirect speech.)

2. If Kelema died there at his wife's ancestral village, the people of the village would bury him. Why then can he not be permitted to bury his wife in his village if she dies there? (section 6)

3. Kelema had received leniency at the hands of the two people most responsible for his wife (i.e., Dawi and Nawaniso). Why then cannot her other relatives be lenient with him? (section 7a-g)

4. The people of his wife's ancestral village had never been known to come and get their dead when they died in another village. Why should they do so in this case? (section 9)

(A striking feature of this taped letter to Dawi is that, even though it is Dawi whom Kelema is seeking to convince, none of Kelema's arguments are given directly to Dawi. They are all quoted as arguments that Kelema had presented to the people of Awali Konde.)

2.2.3 Uses of direct and indirect speech in the text

Throughout this text, Kelema uses direct speech to present the information which really matters to his arguments. However, he uses indirect speech when he wants to downplay information which is either peripheral to the main argument or would not help to strengthen his arguments. The text can be divided into two parts: (1) sections 1-5, which are introductory to the main argument, and (2) sections 6-9, which develop the main argument. We consider these in turn.

2.2.4 Preliminary to the main argument

Kelema keeps all the speech reports indirect right through to the end of section 5, indicating that he still considers the information to this point to be necessary introductory information (but still leading up to his main point). Thus he reports the time he made his request in indirect speech, implying perhaps that he had not expected that the subject would be so volatile. Even the angry, negative reaction of the people of Awali Konde is reported with indirect speech.

2.2.5 In the main argument

However, immediately at the beginning of section 6 his main point begins. This is shown by a sudden change to direct speech, as the following passage (also summarized in (6) of the English summary) shows:

Hën mi taa: Huun? Wë a bigi da mi poi. Huun? Wë
then I said what? well it big to me too-much what? well

ee un sa ko tei Tombe tja ko a Awali Konde ko
if you can come take Tombe carry come to Awali Village come

bei wë nöö më mëni sö. Wë biga... ee mi ko
bury well now I(NEG) think so well because if I come

dëdë aki, wë nöö mi sa' taa un o-bei mi...
die here well now I know that you (FUT)bury me

Hën de taki: Ee i dëdë aki, boto tja u o-tja
then they said if you die here boat carry we (FUT)carry

i go ku di keiki fii dë...
you go with the church of-yours there

'Then I said: "Is that so? That's too much to accept! You will come and get Tombe and bring her to Awali Konde to be buried.... I don't believe it! Because if I happen to die here, I know you will bury me...."

Then they said: "If you die here, we would find a boat immediately. We would send you off immediately, you and your church...!"'

This exchange is followed by an aside to Dawi in which Kelema concludes that he was being chased away (i.e., that he was not wanted) by the people of Awali Konde. Only because he was still alive had he not been carried off long ago! He is hurt by their reaction.

Then follows the essence of Kelema's argument (7a-g). Its form, that of a direct speech report, shows its importance in the mind of the speaker. The transition to this argument goes as follows:

Nöö a hati mi poi. Mm. Wë nöö hën mi begi de
now it hurt me very-much hm well then I asked them

taa gaantangi, fa mi begi de dë di soni
saying please the-way I asked them there the thing

mbei mi begi de nöö hën mi o-konda aki. A dë taa
makes I asked them now then I (FUT)tell here it was that

di mi tei Tombe nöö mi ku ën libi teee...
after I took Tombe I and she lived until

'I was really hurt (by their reaction). Hm. Then I pled with them saying, please listen to my reasons for what I ask of them. "I will give my reasons here. When I took Tombe as my wife, we lived together for a long time...."'[14]

The stretch of speech that begins with this 'please' extends for some 75 clauses (7a-g). Except for part of the first sentence, it is a single direct speech report: this is not surprising, since it is in this section that Kelema elaborates on his main premise: that both Dawi, who is Tombe's guardian, and Nawaniso, the woman who had raised her, had been generous to him, and he (Kelema) thought that her other relatives (i.e., the people of Awali Konde) should be just as generous.

2.2.6 Embedded direct and indirect speech in the main argument[15]

We have already seen that the whole of Kelema's main argument (7a-g) is presented as a direct speech quote. However, within this main argument itself there are further embeddings of both direct and indirect speech, and again this choice enables the speaker to show to the addressee which information he regards as important to his argument and which he regards as peripheral to it.

In this main argument there are twelve such embedded speech quotations. Most of these are indirect. However, on the following three occasions direct speech is used: first, when he presents Nawaniso's favorable treatment of him; second, when he presents Dawi's favorable treatment of him in giving him his wife; and finally, when he gathers up his whole argument and presents it to the people of Awali Konde. In fact, the information given in the embedded direct speech quotations is the essential backbone of Kelema's argument, whereas the information given in the embedded indirect quotations is merely peripheral to it.

Specifically, the three direct speech quotations in this argument are as follows:

(1) In the first quotation (7e), the speaker is Nawaniso, the woman who had raised Kelema's wife. Kelema had gone to her to confess that he had baptized his children. Since Nawaniso was not a churchgoer, Kelema was afraid he would be reprimanded and had wanted to take along an acquaintance for moral support. Kelema's conversation with this acquaintance, who is a minor participant as far as this story is concerned, is reported in indirect speech. His confession to Nawaniso, which he also does not want to highlight, is reported in indirect speech; however, Nawaniso's response, which is in Kelema's favor and which he presents as one of the arguments for his case to the people of Awali Konde, is reported in direct speech. I present the whole of his interaction with Nawaniso as reported in his letter. (In the examples in this section, indirect quotations are underlined in the English translation; direct quotations are indicated by the use of quotation marks.)

...mi fan ku ën tee mi kaba taa sö mi du
I spoke with her until I finished saying thus I did

wan ogi, da a dë mi fufuu dee mii dopu. A taa:
an evil it is I stole the children baptize she said

Manu, më sa buta i a matu. Ja du wogi.
husband I(NEG) can put you in woods you(NEG) did evil

Fa di keiki ko a goonliba aki wa sa' un
how the church come on earth here we(NEG) know which

daka u o-go e! Sö na wogi i du sö.
day we (FUT)go here thus not evil you did thus

'...I spoke to her (Nawaniso) saying that I had done wrong. I had taken the children and baptized them. She said, "My son, I can't be angry with you. You didn't do wrong. Since the church is already around (we may as well take advantage of it because) we don't know when our time will come to die. You didn't do anything wrong."'

By reporting Nawaniso's words in direct speech, Kelema is emphasizing that the woman who had raised his wife had been lenient with him--in contrast to the people of Awali Konde, who had had little to do with his wife while she was growing up, but who were now giving him such opposition about where to bury her.

(2) The second instance of direct speech within this section tells of the conditions under which Dawi suggested that Kelema take his wife to live with him in his village (7f). This embedded speech report begins as follows:

Nöö hën Dawi taki da mi a taa: Di soni mbei baa
so then Dawi said to me he said the thing makes brother

më kë i buta Tombe a di keiki, wan mama bi
I(NEG) want you put Tombe in the church a woman (PAST)

dë a Molon aki de kai Maiwa...
was at Molon here they call Maiwa

'Then Dawi said to me, "This is the reason I don't want you to put Tombe in a church: a woman named Maiwa used to live here in Molon...."'

A summary of the content of this direct speech report is given as underlined in section (7f) of the English summary. Kelema reports this speech of Dawi's, highlighting it by use of direct speech, and summarizes the implications of what Dawi had said in two indirect speech statements, which immediately follow the direct speech account:

Nöö hën mbei di womi taki da mi taa fa mi buta Tombe
so that makes the man said to me saying how I put Tombe

a di keiki aki nöö ee mi tuwëën fa a toona ko
in the church here if I throw-her for she return come

a Molon ala söndö keiki dë a Molon möön mi ku ën
to Molon there without church there at Molon yet I and he

nango a soni.
are-going at thing

Nöö hën mbei a taa be mi tei Tombe be mi hoi ën
so that makes he said let me take Tombe let me hold her

a Winikii aki.[16]
at Winikii here

'That's why he said to me since I've put Tombe in the church, if I divorce her so that she has to return to Molon before there is a church there, I'm going to be in trouble with him.

That's why he said that I should take Tombe and keep her at Winikii.'

In this combination of direct and indirect speech, Kelema emphasizes to the people of Awali Konde that there was sound reasoning behind his being told to take his wife to his village. It had been a well-thought-out act by her legal guardian (Dawi) despite Saramaccan custom to the contrary. By reinforcing this speech of Dawi's, Kelema is emphasizing his argument that Dawi himself had put Tombe under his care. Why then, is the implication, should the people of Awali Konde object if Kelema chooses to bury her at his own burial ground?

We note that this is the only information in the entire discourse that is reported first as direct speech and immediately reinforced with indirect speech.

(3) A third embedded direct speech report closes Kelema's argument:

Nöö hën mi pakisei taa nöö mi kë begi ën unu a Awali
so then I thought saying I want ask it you at Awali

Köndë aki tu taa: Boo du mi di bunu dë tu
Village here also saying let's do me the good there also

taa ee di mujëë dëdë nöö be mi bei ën dë.
saying if the woman dies let me bury her there

'So then I thought I would ask you of Awali Konde here too, "Do me such a favor also and let me bury the woman there when she dies."'[17]

This then concludes Kelema's argument to the people of Awali Konde and takes us to the end of section 7g.

The response of the people of Awali Konde to Kelema's detailed argument is contrastive in its curtness. Kelema reports it as direct speech as he wants its impact to get through to his addressee, Dawi:

Hën de piki mi taa: "Kwetikweti, di soni dë
then they answered me saying no-sir! the thing there

an sa pasa!"
(NEG) can happen

'Then they answered me: "Absolutely not! That will never be permitted!"'

Kelema is taken aback by their refusal to listen to any of his arguments, but he makes a final decision: he will go with his case to Dawi. His statement of this decision to the people of Awali Konde is again in the form of direct speech and conveys the emotion of the situation. A sample of this direct speech, showing this emotion, is the following:

...nöö ee hën seepi piki sö nöö be a piki mi.
if he self answers thus then let him answer me

Nöö hën nöö mi kë fan ku ën. Ee hën seei piki
that only I want talk to him if he self answers

kumafa un taki aki nöö mbei a piki mi. Ma biga
just-as you say here then make him answer me but because

noiti fa mi dë a Winikii dë noiti mi jei taa
never since I am at Winikii there never I heard that

Awali Köndë sëmbë go a Molon go tei dëdë eti, ma
Awali Konde people went to Molon went took dead yet but

nöö fu di mi tja di mujëë ko a mi a Winikii
now for since I carried the woman come to me at Winikii

dë, nöö toobi seei un ta- mbei ku mi. Wë
there now trouble itself you (CONT) make with me well

nöö toobi un ta-mbei ku mi...
now trouble you (CONT)make with me

'If he himself agrees to what you've said here, then he should tell me. That's what I want to say to him. If he himself agrees to what you've said here, then he should tell me. But in all the years I've been there at Winikii, I've never heard that the people of Awali Konde went to Molon to get someone who had died. But now that I've taken my wife to live with me at Winikii there, you only want to make trouble. You are looking for trouble, that's all....'

The repetition of **noiti** 'never', as well as of **toobi (seei) un ta-mbei ku mi** 'You (only) want to make trouble!' serves well to convey the emotion of Kelema's response. It is on this emotional note that Kelema's report to Dawi ends. The tape itself concludes with Kelema speaking directly to Dawi, rather than indirectly in third person as when he began his tape/letter. This final speech is a terse request to Dawi to give his opinion on the matter:

Nöö te sö fala mi fan di wöutu dou. Nöö mi kë
so until thus far I speak the story arrive and I want

manda di buka aki da u, Dawi, be i jei, be i
send the message here to you Dawi let you hear let you

fan ku mi umfa i piki u di dë. Amen.
say to me how you answer to that there amen

'That's as far as I'm telling my story. And I want to send this message to you, Dawi, so that you can listen to it and tell me what you think about that (matter). Amen.'[18]

3 Summary and generalizations

There are certain striking similarities in the functions of indirect speech in narrative and in argumentative discourse. In both cases, one needs to distinguish between the use of indirect speech in the main plot (for narrative) or in the main argument (for argumentative), and its use outside of, or peripheral to, such parts of the discourse. Within these areas, the following observations, both of which involve a combination of direct and indirect speech, can be made:

(1) One possible device for marking information crucial to the plot in narrative discourse is to report such information first in direct speech and then immediately to reinforce it with an indirect speech paraphrase (or vice versa). In argumentative discourse, we also have information crucial to the argument reported in direct speech and reinforced in indirect. Furthermore, for either type of discourse, this report and reinforcement device, where it occurs, is used only once per discourse.

(2) Participant dominance in a narrative discourse can be shown by using direct speech to report what the dominant participant says and indirect speech to report what the nondominant participant says. In a similar way, information that is crucial to the main argument (we might call it dominant) in an argumentative discourse is reported using direct speech, and information peripheral to the main argument is reported using indirect speech.

Just as in narrative discourse indirect speech can be used to begin a dialogue which then changes to direct speech, so in argu-

mentative discourse a main argument can begin in indirect speech and change almost immediately to direct speech.

When dealing with information that is peripheral to the main plot of a narrative or that is not crucial to the main argument, there is also some correspondence in the use of indirect speech. Just as indirect speech is used to report any speech information in a coda giving a moral or explaining an origin at the end of a story, so in an argumentative discourse, speech information that is introductory to and outside the main argument is also reported using indirect speech.

The following chart gives the relationships in summary form.

USE OF INDIRECT SPEECH IN NARRATIVE AND ARGUMENTATIVE DISCOURSE

	Narrative	Argumentative	Organizing principle
Within the main plot or main argument	reinforcing a direct speech report for information crucial to the plot (only once in the discourse)	reinforcing a direct speech report for information crucial to the argument (only once in the discourse)	crucial information
	reporting the speech of a non-dominant participant	reporting conversation with non-central participants	dominance
		reporting non-crucial information in reported conversations	
	reporting thoughts	reporting thoughts	
	reporting speech that leads to action		
Peripheral to the main plot or main argument	presenting morals and origins	giving information which is introductory and peripheral to the main argument	

Note: Further research is needed to determine which of these uses of indirect speech are obligatory and under what conditions.

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NOTES

1 Saramaccan is a Creole language spoken by fifteen to twenty thousand Maroons (descendants of escaped African slaves) who live along the Suriname River in the central interior of Suriname. The dialect represented here is that spoken by the people on the upper Suriname River where the author has been engaged in fieldwork since 1968.

This paper was written at a workshop conducted in Paramaribo from September to December 1980. Contributors of the discourses considered are: Michel Aboikoni, Apeninge Amoida, Donisi Amoida, Fanjen Amoida, Tiini Amoida, Valius Petrusi, Medzen Sanne, and Mando of Akisamaun. The transcription of Saramaccan forms is given in the practical orthography based on the work of Rountree (1972), and agrees in most points with Voorhoeve (1959).

The author is indebted to Dr. Ivan Lowe of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, who conducted the workshop and gave valuable assistance in the analysis and in the writing of the paper. Thanks are also due to the Suriname government for permitting this research among the Saramaccans.

2 In Saramaccan discourse, the difference between direct and indirect speech is recognized mainly by the pronouns in the reported speech, but also by other deictics, vocatives, and exclamations. A full explanation of such surface devices is given in the appendix.

3 In eleven folktales studied, there were some three hundred examples of direct speech in contrast with approximately thirty examples of indirect speech. This high relative frequency of direct speech is also found in personal narratives; in three examined, there were fifty-four instances of direct speech as opposed to three of indirect speech.

4 The use of any indirect speech within narrative discourse is almost always the narrator's choice. Many folktales examined did not yield even one example of indirect speech. The only instance where indirect speech is probably obligatory is when it is needed in the coda, i.e., the explanation-of-origins part, of an origins folktale.

5 This same effect is produced in other Saramaccan folktales by the use of another device. The use of the phrase **Hën a taki aai** 'He said yes/he agreed reluctantly' signals that the speaker is nondominant at that point.

6 Note that the indirect speech quotation is positioned to avoid interrupting any direct speech exchange. In other folktales where information to be emphasized occurs first in a direct speech exchange, the indirect quotation is given first and the direct speech restatement provides the reinforcement.

7 This limitation of direct speech to within the story itself, and the use of indirect speech for the speech of participants 'out-of-focus' in a narrative, has been noted for some West African languages as well (Pike 1966:88-91).

8 In this text, all names of persons and villages are fictitious to avoid identification.

Although the discussion in this paper is illustrated by a single text, another argumentative text of some 505 clauses confirms many of the observations made here.

9 It may help the reader to identify the three villages to which reference is made in this text. They are: (1) Winikii, Kelema's village, (2) Awali Konde, Tombe's ancestral village, and (3) Nolon, the village where Tombe was raised.

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10 To facilitate narration, present tense rather than past is used throughout the main narrative.

11 This argument, that Kelema would expect to be buried by the people of Awali Konde if he died there, is not a logical one, as Saramaccan custom usually requires that one be buried by the people of one's own ancestral village if at all possible. When the logic of the argument was discussed with a Saramaccan informant, I was told not to worry about the logic; the argument was given to **suti di fan**, i.e., to enhance the discussion.

12 This reference to Kelema's church gives the real reason for the anger of the people of Awali Konde towards him. Kelema is the recognized leader of a church which makes no compromises with the spirit-worship of Saramaccan religion. The desire to avoid spirit-centered activities connected with Saramaccan funerals is no doubt the basic reason behind Kelema's desire that people from his own village should bury his wife when she dies.

13 This is uncommon in Saramaccan culture, since the wife usually maintains her own village as base and comes and goes in her husband's village.

14 Note the immediate switch from indirect to direct speech. The deictic locative **aki** 'here' signals the switch to direct speech, which is confirmed several times throughout this speech report.

15 A short discussion on levels of embedding in this discourse can be found in the appendix.

16 With this **aki** 'here' Kelema seems to have slipped deictics. Since he is directly reporting a speech he had given at Awali Konde and not at Winikii, the expected locative phrase would have been **a Winikii dɛ** 'at Winikii there'. But he is recording this tape-letter at Winikii.

17 Perhaps it is necessary to remind the reader that this taped letter is being made to Dawi, not to the people of Awali Konde; otherwise there may be some confusion as to why this is a quotation. Kelema is telling Dawi what he had said to the people of Awali Konde.

18 This 'amen' is not a normal Saramaccan letter ending; it rather reflects Kelema's church interests.

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APPENDIX I

Recognition of Direct and Indirect Speech

There is no specific marker in the quote margin of a Saramaccan speech quotation that indicates whether a given speech is direct or indirect. The formulas **taki** 'say', **taa** 'saying', or **taki...taa** 'said...saying' may occur with either direct or indirect speech, as in the following examples:

A taki a longi di i ku ën an miti.
he said it long since you and he (NEG) met
'He said it's been a long time since you and he have met.' (Indirect speech with **taki**)

Hën di womi taki: I kaba nö?
then the man said you finish (INTER.)
'Then the man said: "Are you finished?"' (Direct speech with **taki**)

Hën Tata Anasi taa an o-tei di pakia.
then father Anasi said (NEG) (FUT)take the peccary
'Father Anasi said he wouldn't take (his share of) the peccary.' (Indirect speech with **taa**)

Hën Don taa: "Söö, antoobi e, Tata Anasi."
then Dumb said so O.K. hear father Anasi
'Then Dumb said: "That's O.K., Father Anasi."' (Direct speech with **taa**)

Nöö hën a taki da de taa tee aiti juu nöö
so then he said to them saying at eight hour then

de tuu musu ko nëën.
they all must come to-him
'He told them that they should all come to him at eight o'clock.' (Indirect speech with **taki...taa**)

Hën a taki dëën taa: "Go fii."
then he said to-him saying go of-you
'Then he said to him: "Go on."' (Direct speech with **taki...taa**)

Because there are no surface markers of direct or indirect speech in the speech margin, the clues then must come from within the quotation content.

1.1 The most prominent indication of whether a stretch of reported speech is direct or indirect is in the choice of pronouns. This choice can best be explained by the following universal speech rules developed by Pike and Lowe (1969). (In the rules, QM refers to the quote margin and QC to the quotation content.)

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Direct Speech Pronoun Reference Rules

1. Subject of QM is coreferential with 1st person of QC
2. Object (Indirect) of QM is coreferential with 2nd person of QC
3. X of QM is coreferential with 3rd person of QC (where X is a cover term for the function of any constituent in the QM that is neither subject nor object--e.g., beneficiary, instrument, topic, etc.)

Indirect Speech Pronoun Reference Rules

1. 1st person in QM is coreferential with 1st person of QC
2. 2nd person in QM is coreferential with 2nd person of QC
3. 3rd person in QM is coreferential with 3rd person of QC

These rules can be illustrated in Saramaccan with the following examples, in which coreferential items are underlined:

Direct Speech Rule #1:

A taa: "Mi ku Kpein a' soni."
He said I and Kpein have something
'He said: "Kpein and I have a bone of contention."'

Direct Speech Rule #2:

De ta-bai ën taa: "Nönö na saka. Na
they (CONT)warn him saying no (NEG) descent (NEG)

be a sabi i."
let him know you
'They were warning him saying: "No, don't get down.
Don't let him know who you are!"'

Direct Speech Rule #3:

De ta-bai ën nëën taa: "Nönö na
they (CONT)warn him of-it saying no (NEG)

bëbëën. A o-suwaki i."
drink-it It (FUT)sick you
'They were warning him about it saying: "No, don't
drink it. It will make you sick."'

Indirect Speech Rule #1:

Mi hakisi de taa be de da mi di mujëë.
I asked them saying let them give me the woman
'I asked them to give me the woman.'

Indirect Speech Rule #2:

Hën i taa i o-da mi di mujëë.
then you said you (FUT)give me the woman
'Then you said you would give me the woman.'

Indirect Speech Rule #3:

Hën de taki da mi taa de jei.
then they said to me saying they heard
'Then they told me that they had heard.'

Where the subject of the quote margin is also first person, it is sometimes difficult to tell if the speech quotation is direct or indirect. Consider the following examples:

Hën mi raa wë nöö mi o-dopu de u mi tu.
then I said well then I (FUT)baptize those of mine also
'Then I said I would baptize mine as well.' or
'Then I said, "I will baptize mine as well."'

Hën mi taa mi o-go.
then I said I (FUT)go
'Then I said I would go' or
'Then I said, "I will go."'

1.2 Where the subject of both QM and QC is first person, or where no pronouns occur at all within the quotation content, one must look for other internal clues within the quotation content. Clues such as deictic words of time or place, vocatives, exclamations, or other vocabulary items sometimes help to show the distinction between direct and indirect speech.

The items underlined in the following groups of examples indicate that the speaker is using direct speech.

1.2.1 Deictics

A taa: "Wan mama bi dë a Molon aki de kai Maiwa."
he said a woman (PAST) was at Molon here they call Maiwa
'He said: "A woman named Maiwa lived here at Molon..."'

This example begins a report of what someone had said at a village called Molon; the person reporting the speech was in another

village. If both speaker and listener had been at Molon, the speech could have been either direct or indirect.

A taa: "Di faja aki hën bunu."
'He said: "Here's a good fire!"'

In the following clauses, the words underlined indicate that the speaker is speaking directly to someone who does not live in Molon. In the taped text-letter entitled "Letter to Dawi" this led to the conclusion that this is a direct quotation reporting what the speaker said to the people of another village, rather than an indirect speech report to Dawi who lives in Molon:

Wë nöö a dë taa dee Molon sëmbë de o-dopu
well then it was that those Molon people they (FUT)baptize

de seepi mii a Molon dë. Wë nöö hën de
their own children at Molon there well then they

o-dopu a lio sö nöö hën di de bigi
(FUT)baptize at river so then then after they began

ta-dopu dee Molon sëmbë mii, hën mi taa
(CONT)baptize those Molon people children then I said

wë nöö mi o-dopu de u mi tu.
well then I (FUT)baptize those of mine also
'Well those Molon people were going to baptize their own children there at Molon. They were going to baptize them in the river. So after they had begun to baptize the children of those Molon people, I said I would baptize mine also.'

1.2.2 Vocatives

Wëno taa: "Anasi." A piki.
Weno said Anasi he answered
'Weno said: "Anasi!" He answered.'

Hën mi taki dëën taa: "Wë Taata, e a sa
then I said to-him saying well father if it can

dë sö...."
be so
'Then I said to him, "Well Father, if that's the way it can be...."'

1.2.3 Exclamations

Hën wan sëmbë taa: "Höön! Anasi go kaa!"
then a person said (EXCL) Anasi go already
'Then someone said, "Ach, Anasi's gone already!"

Hën de piki mi taa: "Kwetikweti, di soni
then they answered me saying no sir! the thing

dë an sa pasa!"
there (NEG) can happen
'Then they answered me, "Absolutely not! That will never happen!"'

1.3 Where none of the above clues occur in the speech content, it is sometimes impossible to tell if a given speech quotation is direct or indirect, as in the following:

A taki dëën taa hën da Koosstraat.
he said to-him saying that is Koos Street
'He told him that that was Koos Street.' or
'He said to him, "That is Koos Street."'

De taki da mi taa Sakë dëdë.
they told to me saying Sakë died
'They told me that Sakë had died.' or
'They told me, "Sakë is dead."'

APPENDIX II

Levels of Embedded Speech

In "Letter to Dawi," there are up to four levels of embedded speech. The greeting itself includes an example of embedding at the first level:

Under-captain Dawi, Kelema says,

(1) Greetings.

He says,

(1) It's been a long time since we've met.

Shortly following the greeting is a further level of embedding:

He sends greetings to you and the others saying,

(1) On December 9, two boys came from Awali Konde. They said,

(2) Sakë is dead and so is Madiwa.

In the main argument of the letter are further levels of embedding:

(1) It (their refusal of Kelema's request) really hurt me.
So I pled (with them) saying,

(2) Please (listen) and I will tell them why I asked for that favor. When I first took Tombe it was a while before we had our three daughters. (Some time later) the Molon people were going to baptize their children, so I said,

(3) I will baptize mine also.

(2) So I baptized Sisani and Amina. I didn't baptize Lidea. However I hadn't asked Dawi ahead of time for permission to do so. Afterwards I thought he would be furious because he is not a believer in God. So I called Doso and asked him saying,

(3) let him take me to Father Dawi so that I can talk to him saying,

(4) I had done something wrong....

(In this rough translation some of the detail has been omitted, and in places the translation is rather literal, so that the embedding can be focused upon.)

As has been noted in the discussion, most of the speech reports in "Letter to Dawi" are indirect. Of the seven embedded speech reports which are direct, none are found embedded within an indirect speech report.

AN ANALYSIS OF ILLOCUTIONARY VERBS IN WALMATJARI

Joyce Hudson

The twenty-two illocutionary verbs analyzed here represent the main speech acts of Walmatjari, an Australian Aboriginal language.[1] It is one of the languages spoken along the Fitzroy River in the north of Western Australia. Many of the speakers live on cattle stations along the Fitzroy River and Christmas Creek, while others live in the towns of Fitzroy Crossing and Derby. Some live as far east as Halls Creek district and a closely related dialect is spoken as far west as La Grange Mission.

For readers unfamiliar with speech act theory, a very helpful introduction is provided by Lyons (1977:725-45). As he points out (p. 725), "One of the most attractive features of the theory of speech-acts...is that it gives explicit recognition to the social or interpersonal dimension of language-behaviour." The theory was first introduced into the philosophy of language by Austin (1962), further developed by Searle (1968, 1969), and is now approached from a variety of viewpoints, exemplified by Sadock (1974), Gordon and Lakoff (1975), Grice (1975), Kempson (1975), Wilson (1975), McCawley (1977), and Wierzbicka (1977, 1980).

Austin introduced the term illocutionary act for one sort of act which a speaker performs in making an utterance: one may make a statement, ask a question, make a request, or make a promise. For example, illocutionary verbs are verbs denoting illocutionary acts; English examples are state, request, promise, warn, and demand. In this description of Walmatjari illocutionary verbs I follow the approach developed by Wierzbicka (1972, 1980), according to which explications of illocutionary verbs are given in terms of a small set of semantic primitives.

In applying the theory of speech acts to other languages, one must consider the different cultural background of social interaction and describe speech acts in terms of the specific cultural system and the categories which are relevant to the speakers of the language, "the 'inside' rules for ordering and classifying the

universe" (Berndt 1974:56). This principle is illustrated in many of the papers from Bauman and Sherzer (1974). The complexity of social structure and kinship among the Australian Aborigines is well documented (see Berndt and Berndt 1967) and is reflected in the languages in many ways. Dixon (1980:26) points out that "there are in many tribes special speech styles that are used in ceremonies of certain types, e.g., in tutoring men about to be initiated; or that must be used in the presence of anyone with whom contact has, for social reasons, to be kept to a minimum. In order to know how to speak in any given circumstances one must have a full understanding of the institutionalized kin relationships holding between the speakers and addressees." Again (1980:276), "a few languages have ... complex pronoun systems with ... distinctions of form depending on the relationship between the people referred to."

It is therefore to be expected that these social structures of the Aboriginal society will produce a number of culturally bound speech acts. In Walmatjari the relationship between speaker and hearer or speaker and referent is inferred from some particular speech acts, so in such cases as these "because you are my relative" is a necessary component in the explication of the verb. Naturally, other components of Walmatjari verbs will reveal particular aspects of the culture.[2]

Simple verb stem		Generalized meaning in compound verbs
pung	'hit/kill'	forceful action
many	'say/speak'	action without force
wanti	'fall'	downward action
karri	'stand'	action in a vertical or straight position

Walmatjari verb structure

The verb in Walmatjari consists of a stem and four orders of suffixes. Stems can be monomorphemic or compound and are divided into five conjugation classes. These classes have no semantic functions. The suffixes signal aspect, tense, and mood. The simple verb stems belong to a closed class of thirty-nine morphemes, e.g., **kang** 'carry', **many** 'say, speak', **yan** 'go', **warnta** 'get', and **-karra** 'place'. The majority of compound verb stems consist of two morphemes. The first ($Root_1$) functions as the semantic nucleus of the compound stem while the second ($Root_2$) contributes to the meaning but has primarily grammatical functions. $Root_2$ can be either a simple verb stem or a verbalizing morpheme. All verbal suffixes are attached to this root. Membership in a conjugation class does not predict transitivity in compounding. The intransitive stem **karri** 'stand' when combined with **pina** 'ear' results in the transitive compound verb **pinakarri** 'hear, listen'.

When a simple verb stem occurs in a compound stem, its meaning is broadened. Compare the meanings of four simple stems when they occur in compounds:

In some compounds, meaning contrast is carried entirely by this second morpheme and transitivity of $Root_2$ is retained.

takurr-yan
through an opening-go
'enter' (intr)

takurr-pung
through an opening-forceful action
'push inside something' (tr)

In most verbs, however, the meaning contrast is carried entirely by the first morpheme and transitivity is not predictable from $Root_2$.

warral-pung
laugh-forceful action
'laugh' (intr)

turta-pung
arise-forceful action
'arise' (intr)

Of the thirty-nine verb stems in the data, only four are illocutionary. They are:

many 'say, speak'
jula 'tell, call'
yinpa 'sing, curse'
marra 'scold, talk angrily, argue'

As with transitivity, the occurrence in compound stems can change the illocutionary nature of these morphemes. **Many** 'say, speak' is very productive and compounds built with **many** abound in the language, but only five of them have been analyzed below as illocutionary. **Jula** occurs in a few compounds, two of them illocutionary. **Yinpa** and **marra** have not been found in compounds. Non-illocutionary simple stems found in illocutionary compound verbs are **yung** 'give', **pung** 'hit/kill', **karra** (controlled action), **kuji** 'cause', **man** 'do' and **nyang** 'see, look'. No doubt others will be found in future research.

Walmatjari illocutionary verbs

Wierzbicka (1980:28) claims that there are thirteen semantic primitives: 'want', 'don't want' (diswant), 'think of', 'imagine', 'say', 'become', 'be a part of', 'something', 'someone' (being),

'I', 'you', 'world', 'this', which are both necessary and sufficient for modeling all intuitively felt semantic relations and that "the sets of semantic primitives which can be established through the analysis of different languages coincide" (1980:26). The analysis presented in this paper follows Wierzbicka in using natural language to represent the semantic components of each verb. The semantic representation is enclosed in brackets and referred to as an 'explication'. It will be noted that words other than the thirteen semantic primitives are used. This is done to avoid very lengthy explications which would result if each verb were described only in terms of the thirteen.

In all explications the first person is used to reflect the speaker's expressed intention. As Wierzbicka says (1980:306), "we cannot say, in the third person, that the speaker intends such and such. But we can say that what the speaker says can be paraphrased, in the first person, as 'I want such and such.'" In the absence of native speakers to check the possible use of these verbs as performatives, i.e., in first person, present tense, declarative mood, the analysis has been made mainly on the basis of evidence from reported speech.

1) **many** 'say, speak'

This verb appears to be a semantic primitive. When it occurs alone, it always refers to the act of speech, and it can be extended to refer to animal speech, as in:

Yawarta-rlu palu marni wangki.
horse-ERG they said word
'The horses neighed.'

It can be used in the quote formula of sentences with direct speech regardless of which speech act is being described.

Question -

Purij-ju paji marni, "Wanyjani ngan luwu nyuntukura?"
priest-ERG he-me said left you law your
'The priest asked me, "Have you left your own law?"'

Advice -

Malany pilarla, "Jirrkirl man kirralku, Ngajirta
say they 2-her straight you will-sit NEG
ngan warawaramanyja maya."
you cry:out strong
'They tell her, "You should sit still; don't cry out."'

Command -

Marni paji, "Ngapa pajin pinakangka!"
said he-me water you-me show
'He told me, "Show me where the water is!"'

There is one example in the data of **many** in first person.

Layi nganpayi turtangany wangkipurru, "Wali karrkanyjalu!
one man arises to:talk all right silence

Malku marna..."
will:speak I
'One man gets up to speak. "Be quiet everyone. I have something to say...."'

It cannot be used to report indirect speech except where the speech is described by the noun **wangki** 'word, speech', as in:

Wangki pilarlanyanu marni.
word they 2-REFL said
'They two talked together.'

When **many** is incorporated in a compound verb stem, its meaning is broadened. Actions where noise is involved typically include **many** in the compound.

kuu-many 'thunder rolls'
rang-many 'pant as a dog'
jirlk-many 'dripping of raindrops'

Sometimes there is no apparent link to noise of any kind.

wulyu-many 'like'
ruk-(m)any 'block, forget'

2) **jula** 'tell, call'

The verb **jula** requires more than one explication. The first is for the verb as it is used to mean 'tell', and the other is translated into English as 'call', as in 'I call it a boomerang'.

jula 'tell'

I know something
I assume you want to know it
I want to cause you to know it

It contrasts with **many** 'say, speak' in that things 'told' are always matters of content. **Jula** can be used to introduce advice or a command in some instances but never a question.

Most discourses recorded on tape finish with the formula **Wali marnangu julami** 'All right, I've told you'. I have never heard **many** used here, although it can substitute for **jula** elsewhere. Perhaps the best illustration of these two speech verbs is from the story told of a trip to a distant area by a Walmatjari man who was established as a preacher in the Christian church. Narrating the story of this journey, the preacher describes his sermons and conversations he had along the way. Sermon matter is always introduced by **jula**, but when the crowd respond to the sermon with a mild 'yes', **many** is used. And later when he describes conversation with a priest and other people about his preaching work, **many** is used each time. Other examples are:

Wali marnarla pinarri kamulku, yangka pajilu julami.
all right I-it know camel which they-me told
'I know about camels because others told me about them.'

Wajpal-lu julami, "Minyartingurni parlipa tikiyanku."
whiteman-ERG said from:here we will:return
'The whiteman (guide on a conducted tour) said, "We will turn around here and go back."'

Jalarra marnangu julamana minyarti wangki Graham.
now I-you am:telling this word
'I am telling you this now, Graham.' (This sentence is the introductory sentence in a discourse giving advice to Graham.)

Julalany, "Ngunawu parlipa jirrkirl."
tells will:be we straight
'It (the Bible) says, "We must live uprightly."'

Kulangarra yarrparni paji julamani, minyakujala
it seemed nothing she-me was:telling but

miyilturlpu nyanyangurra kankarni mananga kirrarnjangka.
cat saw up in:tree sitting
'It seemed she was just talking about nothing, but she had seen a cat up in the tree.'

jula 'call'

thinking of X
I say...

There are two circumstances for use of **jula** 'call'. They can be illustrated by two sentences.

Julalany marnanta jaja.
call I-you grannie
'I call you grannie.'

Julalany marna karli.
call I-it boomerang
'I call it a boomerang.'

As well as the semantic difference between **jula** 'tell' and **jula** 'call' there is a grammatical difference. The first cooccurs with both the indirect referent and object cases, though object can only be a direct quotation or the word **wangki** 'word, speech'.

Wangki marnanyanangu julami piyirnwarnti-wu.
word I-them told people-IR
'I told the people something.'

Reflexive/reciprocal adds a slight change of meaning.

Julami pajilarla-nyanu wangki ngaju-wu piyirnwarnti-rlu.
told they-REFL word me-IR people-ERG
'The people told me something about themselves.'

With **jula** 'call' no noun phrase in indirect referent case occurs, and the object is the name or kin term in focus.

Wurripi marnalu julamani.
wurripi we-it called
'We used to call (the bush fruit) a **wurripi**.'

A few compounds can be formed with **jula**. They are **pinajula** 'teach', **jakuljula** 'talk about someone', and **tajjula** 'call a human by a personal name'. They will be described in detail elsewhere.

3) **papajarra** 'call out'

This verb is generally used of the action of calling to someone to gain his attention, using a loud voice and calling from a distance.

I assume you are away from me
I want you to do something to cause me to know you can hear me
I want to say something more to you

Jarti pajarra Jitirn-jarra papajani.
in:vain we:2 Jitirn-2 called:out
'Jitirn and I called out but they didn't hear us.'

4) **tajjula** 'call a human by personal name'

I know something about you (your name and possibly other background information that may be implied here)

I assume I can say this to you
I assume nothing bad will happen to you if I say this to you
I want you to do something to cause me to know you can hear me
I want to say something more to you

Tajjularni parla Ngarralja.
call:by:name he-him Ngarralja
'He called him by name, saying, "**Ngarralja.**"'

The last two verbs above differ in that **papajarra** refers to calling out from a distance while **tajjula** does not. They also differ in the form of address that is implied. To call out, **papajarra**, one could use the addressee's subsection name, a kinship term (e.g., **jaja** 'grannie'), or a term such as **parri** 'boy', but not a personal name because the name has special significance and is not to be used freely. A person will not utter his own name unless under duress as when a visiting official demands it either to write it on a form or in a mistaken effort to be friendly. It is not surprising, then, that there is a special verb, **tajjula**, to describe the vocative use of a personal name. This is inherent in the second and third components of the explication.

5) **japirlyung** ~ **japirlman** 'ask, request'

Japirlyung can be used to report a simple question with an interrogative sentence, as in:

Japirlyinya parla, "Wanyjurla man yanany?"
asked he-him where you go
'He asked, "Where are you going?"'

To soften the abruptness of a question and get permission to ask something, one often says,

Japirlyungku marnanta.
will:ask I-you
'I want to ask you something.'

The response will be **Kaj. Manyja.** 'Go ahead and speak.'

I don't know something
I assume you know it
I want you to cause me to know it

There is a second sense for this verb. It is used with an indirect quotation, which is shown grammatically by the purposive case. This is normally used when reporting a request for something to be given to or done for the benefit of the speaker.

Japirlyinya parla parri-ngu nganpayi kuyi-purru.
asked he-him boy-ERG man meat-PURP
'The boy asked the man to give him meat.'

The actual words the boy would use in such an incident would be **"Kuyi yungkaja!"** 'Give me meat!'

I want you to do something that is good for me
I assume you can do it
I assume you have to do what I say I want you to do
because I am your relative

The component, "because I am your relative," refers to the obligations between speaker and hearer based on kinship which are incorporated into the speech acts of Walmatjari. The reference is not limited to blood relatives, but it encompasses those who belong to certain categories within the tribe. Because of the intricacies of the system more research is needed to explain which relationships imply obligation.

6) **jinjinyung** 'order'

This verb appears to be very similar to the second sense of **japirlyung**, as in the next example, but it implies authority on the part of the speaker rather than obligation based on kinship. Note that this does not include the component, "that is good for me," which is present in **japirlyung**.

Jinjinyinya parla parri-ngu parri-warlany "Miyi yungkaja!"
commanded he-him boy-ERG boy-another food give me
'The boy commanded the other boy, "Give me food!"'

Nganpayi parla jinjinyinya warrkammayin.
man he-him commanded worker
'He ordered his staff member to do something.'

Laparnurla warlu parla jinjinyinya.
having:run firewood he-her ordered
'He ran up and ordered her (his wife) to get wood
(for the fire).'

Jinjinyinya manya yinparnu-purru.
ordered he-them sing-PURP
'He ordered them to begin singing the corroboree.'

In the last example the speaker has authority in the corroboree, and so he is able to order the performers to begin.

I want you to do something
I assume you can do it
I assume you have to do what I tell you to do

7) **jangkuman** 'respond'

This verb can be used to report a verbal response to speech. In text it is coupled with sentences where the verbs **many** 'say, speak' and **japirlyung** 'ask, request' are used.

I know you said something to me
I want to say something more about it

Some examples:

Wangki marnanyanta jangkumani kartiya-rla ngaju-ngu.
word I-him responded whiteman-to I-ERG
'I said something in response to the whiteman.'

In a text describing a child chattering to his adult companion, the adult's warning response is described as:

Jangkumani manyanta nganpayi-rlu, "Yarr yananku-rli
responded he-him man-ERG just will:go-we

kulkuru. Lanta ngarlipanyalu purluman-tu."
quiet pierce they-us-might bullock-ERG
'The man responded to the child, "Let us walk
quietly. The bullocks might gore us."'

By reduplication, the action is shown to be repetitive. This could very likely be a separate speech act, namely, a sort of argument, but the data is too limited at this point to make such a claim.

Jangku-jangkumani pila-nyanu nganpayijarra-rlu kuli.
respond-responded they 2-REFL men-ERG anger
'The two men talked angrily.'

8) **jirnapung** 'refuse, deny'

If the response to a request is negative, it is reported with the verb **jirnapung**, which has an expanded meaning of 'refuse a request in order to avoid giving something'.

I know you want me to do something for you
I assume I have to do for you what you tell me to do
because I am your relative
I don't want to do it
not wanting you to say bad things about me I say something to
cause you to think I cannot do it

The strong obligation to give to relatives means that a refusal is bad and is usually seen to be an excuse rather than a genuine

inability to produce the goods. This is especially true in dealings with staff at the bank when old people are told there is no money in their account. They will often be very angry and accuse the staff of giving an excuse in order to withhold their money using this verb to describe it.

Kyuiwurti palu jirnapungany yala marnin-tu
game they refuse out-of-sight woman-ERG

ruwajangka-rlu, yarr pa yirri malany, minyangurru
hunting-ERG just it lie says but

ngalany yalawurla yarnta ranji kangany ngurti-nga.
eat out-of-sight also hidden carry coolamon-LOC
'Sometimes a woman returning from hunting refuses to give the catch. It's just a lie; she may have eaten it in seclusion or is carrying it hidden in her coolamon.'

If reflexive/reciprocal is used, there is a parallel to **jula** 'tell' which can describe the speaker telling others about himself. **Jirnapung** describes the speaker denying something.

Jara-rlu parla marni, "Ngajirta marna warralpungka."
Sarah-ERG she-him said not I laugh

Jirnapinya ma-nyanu Jara.
deny she-REFL Sarah.
'Sarah said, "I didn't laugh." She denied it.'

9) **jarrmany** 'stop, rebuke, prevent, forbid'

The similarity to **jinjinyung** 'order' will be immediately obvious from the explication. Grammatically the difference is shown by an obligatorily negative sentence in the direct quotation with **jarrmany** and an obligatorily positive sentence with **jinjinyung**.

I want you not to do something
I assume you want to do it
I assume you have to do what I tell you to do

"Ngajirta ngan kangka kayili parri," jarrmarni parla
not you take north boy forbade she-him

ngamaji-rlu.
mother-ERG
'The mother forbade the other one. "Don't take the boy north."'

The next two verbs are included, although there are very few examples in the data and it is not possible to be sure of the

finer points of meaning. Both share the component of the obligation that relatives have of giving when asked for something.

10) **panypanymany** 'demand urgently'

I want you to do something for me
I want you to do it now
I assume you have to do for me what I tell you to do because I am your relative

Nganajangka man panypanymarnana? Waliwurt nganyja!
why you demanding all right eat
'Why are you demanding more? Eat what you have already!'

11) **nginarrmany** 'demand impatiently and angrily'

This verb includes anger on the part of the speaker. It describes the typical behavior of a drunken person who comes home demanding food from relatives and who is not easily put off.

I want you to do something for me
I want you to do it now
I feel bad toward you because you did not do it yet
I assume you have to do for me what I tell you to do because I am your relative

Nganpayi parla nginarrmarni miyi-wu.
man he-it demanded food-IR
'The man impatiently demanded food.'

12) **lirrkarnpung** 'advise'

The only aspect of this verb which may differ from English is that the age and status of the speaker and hearer are probably more significant in Walmatjari.

I want you to do something because I think it is a good thing for you to do
I assume you have to listen to what I tell you to do because of who I am and who you are
I assume you don't have to do it

Lirrkarnpungana marnanta Graham, nyuntu man pingkayi
advising I-you Graham you you youth

murtilya...
post:initiate
'I am advising you, Graham. You are a young man, a youth....'

There are at least three verbs for 'teach'. All are built on the noun **pina** 'ear, intellect'. **Pinajula** is one which implies teaching verbally. The others include demonstration. **Pinakangka** (ear-carry) 'to teach by taking the pupil to the object to be learned', and **pinayungka** (ear-give) which is more general, including teaching by demonstration as a parent teaches a child to hunt, cook, etc. A similar division in terms describing the sphere of knowledge is described for Middle High German by Ullmann (1957:166) drawing on the work of Trier (1934).

All three share the same explication with differences as stated above. The last component refers to age and status which are necessary requirements for a teacher: e.g., a woman may not teach a man, a younger person may not teach an older one, etc.

I know something
I assume you don't know it
I assume you want to know it
I want to cause you to know it
I assume you have to listen to me when I tell you this because of who I am and who you are

Examples:

Pinajularni paji nyanarti pamarr kakaji.
taught he-me that hill goanna
'He taught me the story of the goanna that became a hill.'

Ngapa marnanta pinakangku.
water I-you will:teach
'I will guide you to the water.'

Pinayungani paja jamirti-rlu.
taught he-me grandfather-ERG
'My grandfather taught me (the old customs and legends).'

13) **yinpa** 'sing, curse'

Singing is associated with a religious experience, usually danced out at a corroboree (**juju**). Such an event can be described either as 'We danced a **juju**.' or 'We sang a **juju**.' The singing and dancing is believed to affect the world, e.g., in the sense of increasing food and game supplies. The verb **singim** in the pidgin lingua franca of the area is extended in meaning to include the singing of a sacred song to work sorcery on someone. Although this data does not contain an example of **yinpa** with the extended meaning, it is expected that there will be a parallel with the pidgin verb so two explications are given.

yinpa 'sing'

I say...(the song)
because I want something to happen which will be good for us
I assume that by saying it in this way I can cause it to happen

Juju marnalu yinparni wakaya.
sacred:song we sang wakaya
'We sang the **wakaya** corroboree.'

yinpa 'curse'

I say...(the song)
because I want something bad to happen to X
I assume that by saying it in this way I can cause it to happen

Mimijarti pa yinparnu-jangka.
sick he singing-from
'He is sick as a result of being cursed.' (unattested sentence)

Walmatjari has an extensive vocabulary covering the various aspects of anger and fighting. These two concepts are so closely related that the noun meaning 'anger', **kuli**, also implies physical blows. The illocutionary verbs used in these circumstances have very slight differences of meaning. Those given below provide only a glimpse into this semantic area, dealing with actions which lead to fighting, either accidently or intentionally. Throughout this section, 'do something bad' refers to anger, accompanied by verbal or physical expression of it.

14) **jingnyaka** 'tease, incite to anger'

Teasing can be verbal or nonverbal. It is a favorite activity among children. Although it can cause amusement for those watching, the illocutionary force is always to incite the hearer to anger (something bad), rather than the harmless playfulness included in English 'teasing'.

I say something which I think you don't want me to say
I assume you will feel bad because of that
I know it might not be true
I say it because I want to cause you to do something bad
I assume I will feel amused because of that

Parriwarnti-rlu palunya jingnyangani pungu-wurra.
boys-ERG they-them teased hit-until
'The boys teased them until they hit back.'

Ngajirta ngarlipa kuliwarnti jingnyanganta nganangurniwurti.
NEG we angry:ones tease anything:from
'Let us not incite each other to anger over anything.'

Teasing can be done by speaking about the hearer or his relatives. There is some similarity here with the ritual insults of the black communities of the U.S.A., described by Labov (1972) but in Walmatjari teasing comments about the addressee or his relative are not manifestly false, though they may be. Teasing can also be nonverbal, as in the case of a young donkey which was kept as a pet. It used to be teased by the children until it would chase and try to bite them. In the example the speaker is describing his dog's character.

Yangkakaji nganangu piyirn-tu jingnyangani, nyanartila
when anyone person-ERG teased then
pajananjuwal.
bite
'If anyone teased (the dog), it would bite.'

15) **warralpung** 'laugh'

The first meaning of **warralpung** is simply the physical act of laughter. The second is very similar to **jingnyaka** except that there are no words involved. This second meaning is explicated below:

thinking of something bad about you, not wanting to say it, I laugh
I assume you will feel bad because of that
I do it because I want to cause you to do something bad
I assume I will feel good because of that

Warralpinya paji manga-ngu.
laughed she-me girl-ERG
'The girl laughed at me.'

If a child reports this to a relative, it could start a fight in defense of the injured party.

16) **jakuljula** 'talk about someone'

I know something about X
I assume you don't know it
I assume you would want to know it
I want to cause you to know it

Jakuljularni manyanangu kartiya.
talk:about he-them whiteman
'He told them about the whiteman.'

17) **marra** 'scold, talk angrily, quarrel'

I think you have done something bad
I feel bad because of that
I say it because I want you to feel bad

Marrarni pila-nyanu marninjarra-rlu ngumparna-ngurni.
argued they:2-REFL women-ERG husband-from
'The two women quarreled because of their husband.'

18) **nganymany** 'abuse, scream at someone in anger'

This is related to kinship obligations and responsibilities.

I want something
I assume you should have known I would want it
I feel bad because you did not do it
I assume you have to do for me what I tell you to do
because you are my relative
I say something bad about you because I want you to
feel bad

Nganymalany parla kuyi-wu nganpayi-rlu warrkamjangka.
abuse he:for:it meat-IR man-ERG work:from
'The man returning from work screams out for his food.'

Ngajirta ngan nganynganymanyja! Yarr kirrangja!
NEG you scream:out just sit

Ngalakjarri ngan.
headache:become you:might
'Don't scream out in abuse. Sit down quietly or you might
get a headache.'

19) **tarrurumany** 'confront, speak straight, say what you mean'

It is unusual for any confrontation to take place. Saving face is very important. This sort of action is often done accidently by whites who fail to recognize the need for face-saving and who speak directly and without preamble.

I want to say something
I know that you may feel bad because of it
I don't want to cause you not to feel bad
I say it like this because I don't care how you feel

Tarrurumarni parla janginy-ja.
confront he-him face-LOC
'He said it straight to his face.'

The semantics of the compound is carried mainly by the first morpheme, and the following example, in which the first morpheme is compounded with the root **yan** 'go', illustrates the meaning well.

Tarruruyanany ngurra-karti nganawurti japirlyungu-mulu.
go:straight:up camp-to any ask-without
'He goes straight to any camp without asking permission.'

20) **kurntayikuji** 'cause shame, embarrass'

One of the means of social discipline and punishment is to cause public embarrassment to the offender and so shame him/her into better behavior. The method is to accuse the offender of his/her various shortcomings in a loud voice at a time when there are many people around.

I say: you have done something bad
I say it where others can hear me because I want others to know what you have done
I say it because I want you to feel bad because of that and because
I want you not to do it again

Kurntayikujirni marna marnin nganpayijuwal.
shamed I-her woman man:chaser
'I shamed the woman who is always after the men.'

21) **purntukang** 'stand in for another person, take the part of another'

To offend or attack any Walmatjari person is to offend or attack his blood relatives too. Thus if someone is hit in a fight, one of his relatives will usually take up the argument and get involved too, insulting the opponent verbally and inviting him to hit the speaker who has declared his oneness with the injured person. The justice involved in the original fight seems irrelevant. It is rather a kinship obligation to take the part of one's relatives when they are insulted or injured. Although physical action is often involved, it is always preceded by much verbal combat to gain the attention of the whole community. It can also stop at the verbal stage with no ensuing blows.

I know you have said something to cause X to feel bad
I feel bad because of that because X is my relative
I want you to stop saying it to X

I want you to say it to me (as though I were X)
I assume I have to say this because X is my relative
I say it because I know others would say bad things
about me if I didn't

Purntukanya paji ngarpu-ngu.
took:part he:for:me father-ERG
'My father took my part.'

Marninjarra-rlu pila-nyanu marralany purntukangu-jangka-rlu
women-ERG they:2-REFL argue take:part-from-ERG

yapajarra-ngurni.
children-from
'The two women are arguing, each taking the part of
her child.'

Most of the verbs analyzed above reflect the culture of the Walmatjari people, and the method of analysis using natural language helps to identify this. Six verbs have a component where kinship is significant and the addressee has a special responsibility to the speaker because of their relationship. They are: **japirlyung, jirnapung, panypanymany, nginarrmany, nganymany, purntukang**. Another six, **jingnyaka, warralpung, wakirrmany, marra, tarrurumany, kurntayikuji,** include reference to the emotional response of the addressee. Two, **tajjula** and **yinpa**, reflect the religion of those who speak the language. The rest are verbs of requesting, or of rebuking, or general speech verbs.

To conclude, although I have had no opportunity to check these with native speakers, I offer two explications in Walmatjari to test Wierzbicka's claim that semantic primitives in English explications do have equivalents in other languages (1980:26).

22) **japirlyung** (1) 'ask, request' (see page 70)

Ngurrpa marnarla nganapartuwu.
ignorant I-it something
'I don't know about something.'

Kunyungurla man pinarrijarti.
maybe man knowledge:have
'I assume you know.'

Pinarri-kujiwu pajan.
knowledge-will:cause you-me
'I want you to cause me to know.'

japirlyung (2)

Wulyu pajan nganapartu yungku.
good you-me something will:give
'I want you to give me something good.'

Kunyungurla man nganayijarti wulyujarti.
maybe you something:have good:have
'I assume you have something good.'

Ngaju marnangu jarntu, yangkala pajan
I I-you relative so then you-me

mapunikarrku.
will:obey/believe
'I am your relative, so that I assume you must do what
I tell you to do.'

NOTES

1 Walmatjari is a member of the Ngumbin subgroup of the Pama-Nyungan family of Australian languages (Wurm 1972:128). For an introductory description of Walmatjari, see Hudson et al. 1976. For more detailed information, see Hudson 1970, 1978.

2 This analysis has been done using data collected during fieldwork extended over an eleven-year period. During the time of writing there has been no opportunity for access to native speakers, so the explications given are offered as exploratory attempts to describe Walmatjari illocutionary verbs. Anna Wierzbicka's assistance in analysis and editing is gratefully acknowledged.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ERG	ergative
IR	indirect referent
LOC	locative
NEG	negative
PURP	purposive
REFL	reflexive/reciprocal

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PLEASE BE SPECIFIC:

A Functional Description of Noun-marking Particles in Limos Kalinga

Hartmut Wiens

0 Introduction

Many Philippine languages[1] have rather complex sets of noun-marking particles. Typically, these particles are used to mark nouns or noun phrases occurring in one of at least three possible syntactic relationships between the predicate of a clause and its nominal complements. These are typified in Tagalog, for example, by the markers **ang, nang,** and **sa**. However, in many Philippine languages the semantic and pragmatic functions of these particles add considerably more complexity than a purely syntactic account would reveal.[2]

This paper presents an analysis of the relatively complex system of noun-marking particles in Limos Kalinga.[3]

1 Theoretical assumptions

The theoretical assumptions underlying this description are basically stratificational, based loosely on Fleming's (1977) 'Stratified Communication Model'. In this model, language is viewed in terms of its communicative function. It recognizes the importance of pragmatics, or the communication situation for language, and integrates it into the model by assigning it a separate stratal status along with semantics, morphemics (grammar), and the expression level, which includes the phonemic, graphic, kinesic, and gestemic strata. Although the communication situation stands outside of language, it has a direct influence on the choices made in the lower level strata of language.

Implicit in this model is the assumption that, although language is a form-meaning composite, it is useful for the purposes of linguistic analysis and description to handle form and meaning, or function, separately.

The presentation in this paper is only loosely stratificational in that it avoids using formalisms of the theory, in order to make the presentation easier to follow for those who may be unfamiliar with this theory. It also departs from a strict stratificational approach by combining the various strata into two levels simply as deep and surface structure. Elements of meaning and function (i.e., semantic and communication situation strata in stratificational theory) are, as may be expected, treated (handled) in the deep structure, while elements of form are handled in the surface structure. The approach is broadly stratificational then in orientation, primarily by its recognition of different levels of structure in language and by the attempt to integrate pragmatics into the description of linguistic phenomena.

2 Surface structure

A basic distinction is made in Limos Kalinga between two types of noun-marking particles, which are referred to here as personal and nonpersonal. In this section the surface structure of these two types of particles is presented separately.

2.1 Personal noun-marking particles

The personal noun-marking particles are shown in Table 1, where their singular and plural forms are distinguished in four separate **CATEGORIES** (C1-C4) according to their phonological shape, position in a clause, and substitution potential:

	C 1	C 2	C 3	C 4
singular	**si**	**-N (ud)**	**si**	**kan**
plural	**sada**	**-N da**	**da**	**kan da**

Table 1. Personal Noun-marking Particles

The brackets in C2 indicate that the **ud** is optional. (This is discussed further in section 3.) Also in C2 the **-N** is a morphophonemic feature indicating that when the preceding form ends in a vowel an **-n** must be added to it before particles of that category, as shown in example 1:

1. **Imbaga-n ud Pedro...**
   said pers.-C2 -sing. Pedro
   'Pedro said...'

2.2 Nonpersonal noun-marking particles

The nonpersonal noun-marking particles are considerably more complex in structure and function than the personal particles. Their surface structure composition is represented by the following tactic formula:

$$\text{Nonpersonal particles} = \text{P1:} \left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{sa-} \\ \text{-N (di)} \\ \text{ø} \\ \text{si-} \end{matrix} \right\} \text{+P2:} \left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{ø} \\ \text{da} \end{matrix} \right\} \text{+P3:} \left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{tu-} \\ \text{nat} \\ \text{di-} \end{matrix} \right\} \text{+P4:} \left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{-t} \\ \text{-N} \end{matrix} \right\}$$

In this formula, P stands for any position in the construction, and the numbers show the relative order of the positions (thus P1, P2, etc.). The colon means, 'is filled by'. Braces are used to indicate an either-or relationship among the items they enclose, and round brackets indicate that the item enclosed is optionally included in the surface structure.

The upper case **-N** in the choice of fillers for P1 and P4 is a morphophonemic feature indicating that when the preceding form ends in a vowel the consonant **-n** is affixed to it. Otherwise the morphophonemic **-N** has no surface realization. The symbol **ø** represents a morpheme that has zero realization in the surface structure even though it represents a deep structure function.

The composition of nonpersonal noun-marking particles is illustrated in example 2:

2. **Sa- di -t abeng Ali...**
P1:sa-+P2:ø+P3:di-+P4:-t child-pers.-C2-sing. King
'The child of the King...'

The morpheme **si** in the choice of fillers for P1 has a variant **ut**, which has frequently been observed in both oral and written data. The factors influencing the choice between these two variants are not yet fully understood, but there is a preference for using **si-** after consonants and **ut-** after vowels, where it is normally contracted to **-t** and affixed to the preceding form. So the choice seems to be largely phonologically determined, although there is not complete consistency in this choice. Examples 3 and 4 taken from the same text illustrate this choice. Example 4 also illustrates the morphophonemic **-N** in P4 following a consonant.

3. following a consonant

Dumatong man si- t boloy,...
arrive-he sequence P1:si-+P2:Ø+P3:(di-)+P4:-t house
'When he arrived at the house,...'

4. following a vowel

Sa- da- nat man'ala- t nat
P1:sa-+P2:da+P3:nat+P4:-N get -P1:(u)t+P2:Ø+P3:nat+P4-N

pagoy...
rice
'Those who get some of the rice...'

Example 3 illustrates another point that should be noted about the surface structure of these particles. The form **-t** as a filler of P4 may only be chosen when **di-** has been chosen as a filler of P3. Since this results in redundant marking in the surface structure, the morpheme **di-** is frequently deleted when **-t** is chosen at P4. Thus in example 3, **di-** has been chosen at P3, and may be made overt, though in the surface structure here, it has been deleted.

It should also be noted that when **-N** is chosen at P1 without the optional **di** and when it follows another form ending in a consonant, the resulting surface form would be identical to the form resulting from the choice of **Ø** at P1, even though their functions would be distinct. This is illustrated in example 5:

5a. **Sumungbat tu -n anak.**
will-answer P1:Ø+P2:Ø+P3:tu-+P4:-N child
'This child will answer.'

5b. **I-sungbat tu -n anak...**
will-answer P1:-N+P2:Ø+P3:tu-+P4:-N child
'This child will answer....'

When **-N (di)** or **si** are chosen at P1, it is possible to delete the rest of the formula, although not without affecting the function of the resulting forms. This is discussed further in section 3, where the functions of these particles are described. Here it should be noted, however, that when **si** is chosen at P1 and the rest of the formula is deleted, the resulting form is identical in surface structure to the **si** of the personal noun-marking particles except that the variant **ut** does not exist.

The surface forms of the nonpersonal noun-marking particles can be distinguished from deictics and demonstrative pronouns only by the choice of fillers at P4. In the case of demonstrative pronouns there is nothing following P3, while for deictics P4 would be filled by the morphophonemic **-A**, which is realized in the surface

structure as **-wa**, **-a**, and **-ya** following **tu-**, **nat**, and **di-** respectively.

3 Deep structure

A distinction can be made between singular and plural nominals[4] by the choice of either the singular or plural form of the personal noun-marking particles or by the choice of either **Ø** or **da** at P2 in the nonpersonal particles.

The basic difference between the personal and nonpersonal noun-marking particles is, as expected, that the personal particles indicate that the following nominal is being used as the name of a person. These particles may be used with conventional names of people, with kinship terms or, in mythology, with almost any noun to indicate that the item is being referred to as if it were a person. Sentences 6-8 are illustrative:

6. **Sada Juan kan Pedro mansunud da.**
   pers.-C1-pl Juan and Pedro related-as-siblings they
   'Juan and Pedro are brothers.'

7. **Siya pay piyaon Inan iyal'allalim**
   that also like-pers.-C2-sing. mother-link relate
   kan dikami.
   to us
   'That is also what mother liked to relate to us.'

8. **Imbaun na da -t suldadu na**
   sent he P1:Ø+P2:da+P3:(di-)+P4:-t soldiers his
   kan Init.
   pers.-C4-sing. sun
   'He sent his soldiers to Mr. Sun.'

3.1 Case marking function of noun-marking particles

In addition to marking the distinction between singular and plural, both personal and nonpersonal noun-marking particles also distinguish four categories that are involved in determining the case (role) of the nominals with which the particles occur. Noun-marking particles alone do not indicate the precise case of the nominals. This is determined, rather, by a combination of the semantics of the verb with its affixation and the particular form of the noun-marking particle. The contribution of each of the four categories to the determination of case relationships is the same for both personal and nonpersonal particles, as I discuss next.

3.1.1 Function of C1

Category C1 is marked in the surface structure by personal noun-marking particles from column C1 in Table 1 (i.e., **si** or

sada) or by nonpersonal particles, of which **sa-** is chosen at P1 in the formula for nonpersonal particles.

Noun-marking particles specified for C1 indicate that the nominal complement so marked is functioning as the topic of the clause or larger grammatical unit in which it occurs. Nominals marked for this category always occur initially in the clause or chain in which they occur. The function of the C1 category is illustrated in examples 4 and 6 above and in examples 9 and 10 below:

9. **Si Lakay Kutu ummoy man'ay'ay'ayaw...**
pers.-C1-sing. old-man Kutu went visiting
'Old man Kutu went visiting....'

10. **Sa - di- t uma -n da -t**
P1:sa+P2:Ø+P3:di-+P4:-t swidden-P1:-N+P2:da+P3:(di-)+P4:-t

abeng, bang'og...
child small
'The children's swidden was small....'

3.1.2 Function of C2

Category C2 is marked in the surface structure by personal noun-marking particles from column C2 in Table 1 (i.e., **-N (ud)** or **-N da**) or by nonpersonal particles, of which **-N (di)** is chosen at P1 in the formula for nonpersonal particles.

Noun-marking particles specified for C2 indicate that the nominal complement so marked is in a primary role function (e.g., AGENT, ACTOR, EXPERIENCER, etc.) with respect to its predicate. The precise case (role) depends on the semantics of the verb. These particles can only occur with verbal affixation calling for focus on something other than the primary role participant. C2 category is illustrated in examples 1 and 7 above and 11 and 12 below:

11. **Kingwa-n Gammelayan di -t**
did-pers.-C2-sing. Gammelayan P1:Ø+P2:Ø+P3:di-+P4:-t

pinakwa na.
caused-to-do his
'Gammelayan did what he told her to do.'

12. **Imbaga -n da -t suldadu kan**
said-P1:-N+P2:da-+P3:(di-)+P4:-t soldier pers.-C4-sing.

Bayogbog...
wind
'The soldiers said to Mr. Wind....'

In addition to their use as markers of nominal complements in a clause, C2 particles are also used in noun phrases to mark such functions as OWNER in an Ownership Construction, WHOLE in a Part-whole construction, or the higher ranking participant in Kinship or Social relationship. Examples of these uses of C2 particles are found in examples 2 and 10 above and 13 and 14 below:

13. **Sadiya ima, ima -n di alan.**
that hand hand-P1:-N di spirit
'That hand was the hand of a spirit.'

14. **Ininggaw si Luwang si - di -n**
stayed pers.-C3-sing. Carabao P1:si+P2:∅+P3:di-+P4:-N

paway ud Donglayan.
yard pers.-C2-sing. Donglayan
'Mr. Carabao stayed in Donglayan's yard.'

3.1.3 Function of C3

The category C3 is marked in the surface structure by personal noun-marking particles from column C3 in Table 1 (i.e., **si** or **da**) or by nonpersonal particles, of which **∅** is chosen at P1 in the formula (see 2.2).

A noun-marking particle specified for category C3 indicates that the nominal following it is the focused participant in the clause in which it appears. In a clause whose predicate is affixed to indicate that the primary function participant is in focus (i.e., **man-**, **maN-**, or **-um-** type affixes), the nominal introduced by a C3 particle will be a primary function participant (e.g., AGENT, ACTOR, etc.), whereas if the predicate is affixed to indicate that a nonprimary function participant is in focus, the nominal introduced by the C3 particle will be in a nonprimary function case (role) (e.g., GOAL, PATIENT, RECIPIENT, INSTRUMENT, etc.).[5]

In addition to their use in verbal clauses, particles of category C3 are also used in identificational constructions, which have sometimes been referred to by Philippine linguists as nonverbal clauses. Actually these constructions are chains consisting of a noun phrase, pronoun, adjective, existential, etc., followed by another nominal, which is always introduced by a C3 noun-marking particle.

In the surface structure of the nonpersonal particles C3 category is actually the unmarked category, since it calls for the choice of **∅** at P2. The use of C3 particles is illustrated in examples 5, 8, 11, and 14-16. Example 15 illustrates its use in a verbal clause, and 16 shows how it functions in a chain, in both cases the representation being **∅** at P1.

15. **Summungbat di -t anak na-n Gammelayan**
answered P1:Ø+P2:Ø+P3:di-+P4:-t child his-Lk Gammelayan

un,...
quote
'His child Gammelayan answered, "...."'

16. **Siyanat nat piyaok.**
that P1:Ø+P2:Ø+P3:nat+P4:-N like-I
'That is what I like.'

3.1.4 Function of C4

Category C4 is marked in the surface structure by personal noun-marking particles from column 4 in Table 1 (i.e., **kan** or **kan da**) or by nonpersonal particles, of which **si** or **ut** is chosen at P1 in the formula for nonpersonal particles (see 2.2).

Particles specified for C4 indicate that the following nominal is neither the focused participant nor a primary function participant. Their use is illustrated in examples 3, 4, 8, 12, and 14.

An exception must be noted to the statement made above that C4 particles mark the following nominal as a nonprimary function participant. This statement holds true except in the case of a special passive-like construction, where C4 particles are used to mark the nonfocused primary function participant following a special set of focus pronouns.

17. **Nangatuw-ak un tagu yoong salinan-ak kan Bunot.**
high-I 1k person but block-me pers.-C4-sing. Cloud
'I am a high person but I am blocked by Mr. Cloud.'

18. **Uwayon dika-t da- nat bulun nu.**
wait you-P1:ut+P2:da+P3:nat+P4:-N companion your
'You are being awaited by your companions.'

3.2 Specification function of noun-marking particles

Both the personal and nonpersonal noun-marking particles have the same function in terms of helping to specify the case (role) of the nominal they introduce, and in this function they do not differ greatly from the function of noun-marking particles in many other Philippine languages. Both also distinguish singular and plural number. However, the existence of the choices at P3 and P4 in the surface structure composition of the nonpersonal particles requires a number of deep structure distinctions that are not possible for the personal noun-marking particles. It is, indeed, the functions of the choices at P3 and P4 that make the noun-marking particles of Limos Kalinga unique among the Philippine languages of which the writer is aware.

The basic function of the three choices at P3 is to signal relative distance of the referent from the communicator and audience. The surface forms here are identical to the forms of the relative pronouns, with **tu** indicating relative proximity to the communicator, **nat** relative proximity to the audience, and **di** indicating that the referent is distant from both communicator and audience.

The question may be raised here whether Limos Kalinga may not merely be using deictics as substitutes for regular noun-marking particles, since in some Philippine languages it is common to find a deictic used in place of the regular noun-marking particle, as, for example, **iyong** in Tagalog, as in 19 below:

19. **Nasaan ang lapis?** or **Nasaan iyong lapis?**
'Where is the pencil?'

However, as pointed out in section 2, there is a clear difference in form between the deictics and noun-marking particles in Limos Kalinga, although both are used to specify relative distance. Also, whereas languages like Tagalog always have the option of being noncommittal about the relative location of the referent, this is not so for Limos Kalinga.

It is the choice available at P4 which distinguishes the noun-marking particles from deictics in Limos Kalinga. Perhaps the best way to describe the difference in function between the two choices available at P4 for the nonpersonal noun-marking particles is in terms of exophoric and endophoric reference. A communication is viewed as taking place in a certain context of time and space, which includes all uncompleted events, real and known places, referents which belong to or are considered to be a part of the communicator and audience, or referents that are being looked at or handled by the communicator and audience. If a referent is considered to be within (i.e., endophoric to) this context, **-N** must be chosen at P4, along with the choice of the appropriate form at P3 depending on the relative proximity of the referent to the communicator or his audience. If a referent is considered to be external to this context (i.e., exophoric), **di-** is chosen at P3 and **-t** at P4 in the formula in sec. 2.2.

Most referents in narrative discourse are exophoric, either because they refer to completed events or because they are fictitious, have ceased to exist, or are simply not present for the communicator and audience to observe. However, when the narrator refers to specific, known places or reports the speech of participants, he switches to endophoric reference. So, for example, in a certain folktale about a monkey and a turtle, the narrator represents the referents as exophoric, using the **dit** form, but when referred to by one of the participants, the same referents become endophoric. When the monkey and turtle find a banana plant,

the narrator refers to it by the exophoric **dit**, but when the turtle later asks the monkey to climb the same plant he refers to it by the endophoric **din**. From the point of view of the monkey and turtle the plant is real and visible, even though for the narrator the whole story may be fictitious, or at least the events he relates are not taking place at the time he is telling about them. And, of course, the narrator has already established these referents by earlier mention of them.

In another narrative, which is an autobiographical account, the narrator represents most of the referents as exophoric, because they are either past events, things which no longer exist, such as the house where the narrator grew up, or things that are not in view at the time of the narration, such as his parents. However, when he refers to an actual illness he has at the time of the narration, he refers to it as **si-tu-n sakit ku** (P1:si-+P2:Ø+P3:tu-+P4:-N sickness + my) 'my sickness'.

When referring to actual places, known to exist, one of the endophoric forms must be used, whether or not the place is visible. The narrator is forced to position himself at the time of his narration with respect to specific places he refers to. The choice of the form at P3 depends on the relative proximity of the location with respect to other places referred to in the immediate context. So, for example, in one story the narrator first refers to a particular river in the vicinity of his village as **tun Saltan** because it is in the context of other, more distant rivers. A little later he refers to the same river as **din Saltan**, because now it is in the context of another stream even closer to him, which is now referred to as **tun Sulung Babattuwan**.

The exophoric nonpersonal noun-marking particle, when it is used with names of people, indicates that the person is deceased, as in 20:

20. **Sa- di -t Wandaga, ossaana nasuyop**
P1:sa-+P2:Ø+P3:di-+P4:-t Wandaga alone-Lk slept

si -t boloy da.
P1:si-+P2:Ø+P3:(di-)+P4:-t house their
'The late Wandaga was asleep alone in their house.'

The narrator frequently uses the endophoric form **tun** where the exophoric **dit** would otherwise be expected in constructions introduced by **awad kad**, a standard formula roughly translated in English by 'as for'. This construction is frequently used to introduce participants or to draw special attention to a referent. So it is used in one story to draw attention to the blood of the murdered heroine as it turns into a crow. **Awad kad tu-n natab'unana dala...** (As for P1:Ø+P2:Ø+P3:tu-+P4:-N covered blood) 'As for the covered blood....'

When participants are introduced, the **tun** form may be used, whether or not it is introduced by this formula. So in one story the main characters are introduced as, **Awad kad da-tu-n duwa-n mansunud-a unila-n babai** (As for P1:Ø+P2:da+P3:tu-+P4:-N two-lk sibling-lk orphan-lk female) 'As for these two orphaned sisters' and, **di-tu-n osa-n tagallan** (P1:-N di+P2:Ø+P3:tu-+P4:-N one-lk young man) 'this one young man'. However, throughout the rest of the story they are referred to either by name or with the exophoric form **dit**.

As pointed out in section 2, when **-N (di)** or **si/ut** are chosen at P1, it is possible to delete the rest of the formula and avoid the kind of specification indicated by the choices at P3 and P4. These nonspecified forms are used with nonpersonal nominals marked in the surface structure for C2 (i.e., P1:**-N (di)**) and C4 (i.e., P1:**si/ut**), when the referent is indefinite or nonspecific.

This nonspecific type of nonpersonal particle is illustrated in examples 13 above and 21 below.

21. **Nangwa Ø si alang...**
made he P1:si granary
'He made a granary....'

This is the first mention of the granary, so it is still nonspecific. However, in the next reference it is specified as 'the granary he made' and must be referred to by a more specific form of the noun-marking particle.

22. **...adu di -t kanon da-n inyalang**
much P1:Ø+P2:Ø+P3:di-+P4:-t food their-lk put-in-granary

da- t di -t alang-a tinallikayu-n
they-P1:ut+P2:Ø+P3:di-+P4:-t granary-lk made-of-boards-lk

Paman.
Paman
'...they had much food which they had stored in the granary that Paman made of boards.'

When particles **sa** or **Ø** are chosen at P1 (i.e., category C1 or C3), it is impossible to avoid the further specification at P3 and P4, because it is impossible to have a nonspecific and indefinite topic, or focused participant, in Limos Kalinga.

4 Conclusion

In this description of Limos Kalinga noun-marking particles it has been demonstrated that noun-marking particles, especially the nonpersonal ones, are complex forms requiring the communicator in Limos Kalinga to make a number of deep structure distinctions that

are optional or even impossible to signal in the surface structures of many other languages. Distinctions such as relative distance of a referent from the communicator and audience and endophoric or exophoric reference are frequently obligatorily marked by noun-marking particles in Limos Kalinga in addition to the obligatory marking of the case (role) function, which is common in Philippine languages.

NOTES

1 Alternatively these have been referred to as determiners or case-marking particles.

2 See, for example, the system for Casiguran Dumagat in Headland and Headland (1974:xxx-xxxii).

3 Kalinga is an Austronesian language. Thomas and Gieser (1974:66), building on classifications proposed by other linguists and based on independent dialect survey work conducted under the auspices of S.I.L., have developed a decimal classification of Philippine languages. They place Kalinga under the Central Cordilleran group of languages along with Ilocano, Itneg, Bontoc, Kankanay, Ifugao, Inibaloi, and Isinai. There are an estimated seventy to eighty thousand speakers of Kalinga living in the Kalinga part of Kalinga-Apayao Province in the northern part of the island of Luzon, Republic of the Philippines.

The particular dialect upon which this study is based is Limos Kalinga, or Linimos as it is most often referred to by native speakers. Linimos is spoken by about eight thousand people in some ten barrios along the lower Saltan River in the municipality of Pinokpok.

The data upon which this study is based consist of several hundred pages of text material collected from various native speakers from the barrios of Limos, Malaap, Asibanglan, and Allaguia between 1974 and 1977 by the author and by Kathleen Bosscher and Carol Porter, all working under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

4 The term nominal as it is used here includes nouns or noun phrases. Even verbs or clauses can be turned into nominals in Limos Kalinga simply by preposing the appropriate noun-marking particle to the verb and deleting the focused participant following the verb.

5 For a more detailed discussion of the function of verb affixes in Limos Kalinga, see Wiens 1979.

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SELF-CORRECTION IN CAPANAHUA NARRATION*

Betty Hall Loos

0 Introduction

In this paper I report on evidence from Capanahua that (1) supports Jakobson's (1956) distinction between selection and combination as separate linguistic processes and (2) suggests that insufficient anticipation of following constituents (in addition to the anticipation noted by Cohen (1973)) is an important source of speech errors, at least in SOV languages. I preface the presentation of the evidence with a sketch of some of the major works on speech errors available to me.

1 A brief survey of work on speech errors

1.1 Grammaticality

A discussion of speech errors in any language presupposes the recognition of grammatically correct forms. Chomsky (1965:3) contended that the study of the correct forms is the principal subject matter of linguistics:

> Linguistic theory is concerned primarily with an ideal speaker-listener, in a completely homogeneous speech-community, who knows its language perfectly and is unaffected by such grammatically irrelevant conditions as memory limitations, distractions, shifts of attention and interest, and errors (random or characteristic) in applying his knowledge of the language in actual performance.

The opinion of Chomsky was that, if the analyst made a rigorous description of the grammatically correct forms, he would have explained the linguistic competence of a native speaker. Deviations from the norm would not be subject matter for determining

* Capanahua is a Panoan language (of the Pano-Tacanan family--see, e.g., Key 1968, Voegelin and Voegelin 1977:282-83), and it is spoken by about four hundred residents of the Tapiche and Buncuya Rivers in eastern central Peru.

linguistic competence; they would be explained in a related but distinct theory of performance. Hence the focus was on a theoretical model that would approve an unlimited number of new, correct sentences, but exclude any that were deviant.

> The investigations of generative grammar described in Syntactic Structures were motivated in part by an interest in the problem of accounting for the ability of a speaker to produce and understand an indefinite number of new sentences (or for that matter, to recognize them as properly formed, or as deviating from well-formedness in one or another respect) (Syntactic Structures, p. 15) a task that he performs regularly with great facility (Chomsky 1961:222).

However, establishing what is grammatical is not always a simple matter, since a native speaker's reaction to a construction may be based on factors unknown to the investigator. One way of controlling these unknown factors was devised by Quirk and Svartvik (1966:11), who provided a measure of objectivity in establishing grammaticality by having native speakers perform a transformational operation on certain sentences in order to measure their judgments of acceptability. In this way the investigators sought to control performance so that their study would contribute to the understanding of acceptability and competence via performance.

1.2 Speech errors

In 1973 Fromkin (1973b) edited a collection of papers concerned with the ways in which spontaneously produced speech errors provide insights into the nature of language and language behavior. At that time she noted that there were more papers utilizing speech error data written by linguists and psycholinguists in the previous five years than in all prior linguistic history. Many of the works cited here are found in her collection.

Boomer and Laver (1973) noted that in the distinction between "well-formed" and "deviant" utterances there has been an implicit equation of "well-formed" with "normal," and "deviant" with "abnormal" sentences. Therefore deviations from the norms had hitherto been dismissed as linguistically irrelevant. They contended that the study of the characteristic irregularities of speech can yield data which are relevant to linguistics, psychology, and neurophysiology, but they did not make any substantive claims about what the relevance was. Fry (1973) agreed with Boomer and Laver, asserting that when errors do occur, they cast valuable light on the processes that are normally going on, because errors provide indications of the kinds of linguistic information that a speaker uses, as well as constitute evidence about the purely linguistic operations that communication by speech calls upon. He

was concerned with errors in the generation of speech sequences and examined examples of such errors in English to show that they could not be accounted for except by attributing to speakers a knowledge of a language system similar to and even in many details coincident with that constructed by linguists.

Laver (1973) restated the view that normal speech is not necessarily error-free and, by extension, that errors are part of normal speech and, therefore, worthy of study by linguists. Fromkin (1973a), in determining what the mechanisms of speech production are, attempted to see how the study of particular errors might shed light on determining what are the underlying units of linguistic performance.

1.3 Pauses, hesitations, and false starts

As already mentioned, Boomer and Laver (1973) pointed out that it is important to recognize that in speech "normal" should not be equated with "perfect." The norm for spontaneous speech is demonstrably imperfect. Conversation is characterized by frequent pauses, hesitation sounds, and false starts, as well as misarticulations and corrections.

False starts are defined as all aborted beginnings of utterances: utterances that are begun, interrupted by a pause, and never finished. In a retraced false start the speaker begins a sentence, stops, and backs up to correct one or more of the words he has already used.

Quinting (1971) gave an overview of the limited literature on studies in hesitation phenomena. He noted that a study by Goldman-Eisler stated that an average of about 40 to 50 percent of utterance time is occupied by pauses. This suggested that pausing may be essential to the generation of spontaneous speech. Other studies showed that pauses occurred at points of uncertainty of prediction.

Quinting's work is based on a study by Maclay and Osgood (1959). They found that both filled pauses (pauses when the speaker says uh, er, etc.) and unfilled pauses (pauses when he says nothing) occur significantly more frequently before lexical words than before function words. They also noted that when a false start is retraced, the retracing usually includes the function word or words immediately prior to and associated with that lexical item. Approximately half of all pauses occur within phrases rather than at phrase boundaries.

Quinting likewise found no distinctive functional difference between a vocalized hesitation and a silent pause. Most often both precede either a single noun or a noun phrase, indicating that these latter constitute fundamental functioning units of encoding in speech production. Encoding (for a nonaphasic speaker) seems to

be an ongoing coordination of a continual stream of sounds pronounced so fluently that the listener is almost unaware of the complexity of the final output. Yet there will always be points where the speaker himself interrupts the linguistic stream, and these are points where he makes decisions about what to say next.

Jakobson distinguished two processes that every speaker uses in producing speech: selection and combination. In each of these processes a speaker may produce a particular type of speech error.

> Following this device, we distinguish two basic types of aphasia--depending on whether the major deficiency lies in selection and substitution, with relative stability of combination and contexture; or conversely, in combination and contexture, with relative retention of normal selection and substitution....
>
> For aphasics of the first type (selection deficiency), the context is the indispensable and decisive factor. When presented with scraps of words or sentences, such a patient readily completes them. His speech is merely reactive (1956:77).

The validity of regarding selection and combination as distinct linguistic abilities is supported by the Capanahua data discussed below.

1.4 Performance models

Efforts to create a model that would explain a native speaker's linguistic competence have led linguists to make strong claims about the nature of a native speaker's linguistic knowledge, but it has long been realized that such models cannot be viewed as production models. They do not tell us what is actually involved in the speech process. For that we need a performance model.

Speech error data are significant in the construction of a performance model. A performance model must incorporate a theory of competence in addition to psychological and physiological factors. The study of speech errors is relevant both to the theory of competence and to the determination of the other factors involved in performance.

Boomer and Laver (1973) felt that, to the degree that observed slips of the tongue could be shown to be structured and not simply the result of random malfunctioning of the speech production process, the speaker's obedience to the constraints of a descriptive and explanatory theory while making speech errors could provide the basis for deducing what are some of the relevant properties or characteristics of the sequencing system.

The conclusion Fromkin (1973a) reaches in relating performance to competence is that in the analysis of speech errors, despite

the semicontinuous nature of the speech signal, there are discrete units at some level of performance that can be substituted, omitted, transposed, or added. Such units are necessary postulates for the description of the grammar of a language. When one finds it impossible to explain speech production (which must include the errors made during production) without reference to those discrete units, this constitutes a measure of substantiation of the psychological reality of those discrete units.

Cohen (1973) investigated speech errors using the assumption that errors occurring in spontaneous speech must reveal something about the temporal ordering of the elements that are produced in the intricate processes involved in speaking. He showed that 78 percent of the errors he studied were the effect of anticipation of later elements in the sentence, resulting in the subsequent element's influencing the pronunciation of the erroneous form.

Similarly, the lexical selection errors studied by Fry (1973) are all anticipation errors caused by the speaker's anticipation of subsequent elements in the sentence with consequent distortion of the composition of the element still being pronounced. He contended that such anticipation indicates that word encoding in such cases gets too far behind the semantic encoding. The lag has to be abruptly reduced, and a speech error results.

Hockett (1958:118) hypothesized that a speaker monitors his speech during the act of speech:

> Any speaker hears his own speech, and feels the positions and motions of his own articulatory organs. The sound and feel of one's own speech constitute feedback, the former auditory, the latter kinesthetic. A speaker monitors his speech by means of feedback, just as the monitor in a radio station listens to the signal and makes predictive adjustments in it as it goes on the air.

Hockett later formalized the notion of editing and distinguished between covert editing and overt editing. He identified the apparatus of overt editing with dequotation. In dequotation some of the words actually spoken are comments on the rest of the enunciation (1973:108). Laver (1973), using a model in which a "Planner" assembles the elements of the sentence in the speaker's mind and a "Monitor" does the editing, equated covert editing with the editing carried out by the Planner and overt editing with the editing initiated by the Monitor.

Yngve (1973) noted similarity between cases when a speaker is interrupted and then retraces the sentence to pick up the thread, and cases of self-interruption and correction. This observation was held to be consistent with the view that actual pronunciation is a low level process associated with the process of monitoring

and feedback. That is, we continually listen to ourselves speak, and when we catch ourselves misspeaking we stop and correct ourselves. To account for these phenomena we need to suppose that there are two kinds of memory: one involved with the apparatus that plans and constructs the utterance, and another involved with the actual pronunciation of the utterance. There must also be a method that somehow compares the contents of the two memories and detects the differences.

Hill hypothesized (1973) that the speech production process involves an internal "message center" in which sentences are assembled. An assembled message comes into existence a short but appreciable amount of time ahead of articulation, and the internal message lingers in memory for some period after articulation is complete. An internal message can be assembled and completed without ever being articulated at all. This internal counterpart to spoken language Hill termed internal language.

Fromkin (1973a) contended that the complexity of the stored lexicon is one of the reasons for speech errors. She went on to point out (1973a:238):

> What seems certain, however, is that any model of the lexicon must account for the observed types of errors, which require the specification of various kinds of properties which we have called phonological, syntactic, and semantic features; no lexicon consisting of a single listing of items can explain what occurs.

She further proposed that a model of speech production must in some way account for the intrusion into an utterance of interjections and pauses filled by nonsemantic "automatic utterances" (1973b:42). While it may be possible for a grammar to ignore these intrusions (that is, grammatical rules certainly need not generate as a possible grammatical string a sentence filled with such intrusions), a model of speech production must in some way account for where they can occur.

James (1973) showed that interjections and hesitations are also a part of competence and obey grammatical rules; that is, they do not occur at random in the sentence.

1.5 Error and correction in conversation

The studies just reviewed were principally concerned with speech errors and not with a speaker's correction of them. Studies about correction in conversation, such as those by Moerman (1977) and Schegloff, Jeffersen, and Sacks (1977) focus on who initiates the correction. Their interest is in the organization of language use in social interaction rather than in the insights into linguistic structure that are revealed by self-corrections. However,

Robin Lakoff (1973) in discussing acceptability found that the linguistic and nonlinguistic contexts were indispensable in determining appropriateness or acceptability. By specifying the context she was able to account for the unacceptability under some conditions of sentences which, under other conditions, were perfectly acceptable. For our purposes, the relevance of her findings to the study of self-corrections is that when the speaker corrects himself he may be evaluating his enunciation in terms of its acceptability in a given context, linguistic or nonlinguistic. The investigator cannot assume that all corrections arise from errors in grammatical construction.

2 Capanahua self-corrections

Part of the significance of spontaneous self-correction, as opposed to uncorrected speech errors, is that, in the correction, the speaker often reveals some of his thought patterns. A study of speech errors apart from their corrections often leaves us with only weak conjectures about what was going on in the mind of the speaker at the time of the irregular word choice or concatenation; the complexity of the speech process precludes the possibility of the analyst's defining many of the unspoken factors in the speaker's mind. When the speaker corrects himself, however, he sometimes makes explicit some of the considerations or thought patterns that would otherwise remain hidden.

Capanahua self-corrections demonstrate that a speaker does monitor his own speech. This is shown by the fact that in the recorded narrations in which self-corrections are found, the speaker received no cues from a listener to alert her to an error; she corrected herself spontaneously.

There were two principal types of errors: grammatical errors (errors in concatenation) and errors in the selection of lexical items or semantic content. The typical Capanahua strategy of correction is different for each of the two types of error.

2.1 Grammatical errors

For grammatical errors, correction is accomplished by retracing a false start and repairing the ungrammatical construction. The listener has no other warning that a correction is being effected. Usually these grammatical repairs are matters of transitivity concord, a phenomenon that permeates Panoan languages. The conditioning elements of the sentence that require the correction of grammatical concord are elements that have not yet been spoken. This indicates that the monitoring process is not simply a reaction of the speaker to her own enunciation. It is an editing of spoken elements to make their structure conform to a mental image not yet enunciated--in other words, to make the spoken image conform to rules that are conditioned by sentential components not

yet pronounced. For example, **-ax** and **-xon** are the allomorphs of the present participle verb inflection appropriate according to the respective intransitivity or transitivity of the verb to which the participle is subordinated. Usually the dominating principal verb follows the participial construction. Corrections in concord are effected by immediately repeating the participle with the proper suffix.

(In the examples the part of the sentence involved in the self-correction is enclosed in brackets, and the translation is given as corrected by the speaker.)

1. **[jascaxon jascarax] qui: "..." hihqui**
   so-doing so-doing REP (quotation) said-INTRA
   'Having done so, she said, "...."'

2. **Jaatian caxon qui jahuen benen jahuen huino**
   then going REP her husband his war-club

   [hiacax hiaxon] rehue hahbenahi
   carrying carrying flute came-playing
   'Then having gone, her husband, carrying his club on his shoulder, came playing his flute.'

Likewise the allomorphs of the plural markers **bo** and **baan** on subject noun phrases are conditioned by the intransitivity or transitivity of the associated verb, which follows, and are subject to corrections similar to those just illustrated for the participial suffix:

3. **noquen xenibo huetsa main [canibo qui**
   our ancestors another country-to go-PAST-ones REP

   canibaan qui] mae hahquin rahan tsaben
   go-PAST-ones REP home-brew drink yes sister-in-law
   'Our ancestors, the ones who had gone to another country, were drinking home brew, sister-in-law.'

In cases where the grammatical structure used is a possible one but the meaning of the construction is different from what the speaker intended, the same scheme for correction is used: the part to be corrected is retraced and the different suffix substituted.

4. **[hihcahinax hihcahini] cahiton...**
   having said saying (he) went
   'So saying, he left....'

5. **[Jahuejanoxon mian, jahuejahi min] jascarain, heen cocan?**
   why-to-do you why-for you thus-do-INTER my uncle
   'Why do you act like this, my uncle?'

6. **Hen shion cohto [quebentannon quebentanyaxahnon]**
I gnat nest shut-up-purpose shut-up-FUT-PUR

yobatahi man, heen baquebaan
wait you my children
'While I gd shut up the gnat nest, you wait, my children.'

Changes made in grammatical structure while assembling the sentence in some cases affect the case of noun phrases or the word order of the sentence.

7. **[hen ta]** **[hea ta]**
I (false start) me (false start)

Nea netejanicahton ta hea chibanihqui?
this creator mood me pursue
'The creator is pursuing me.'

In the case of all corrections of structural errors, the speaker stops after saying the wrong form, pronounces the correct form, and then completes the sentence. She does not add any statement about the correction nor alert the listener to the fact that a correction has been made. It may be supposed that the listener, being equipped with the same grammatical rules of encoding and of decoding as the speaker, is expected easily to filter out the incorrect forms in interpreting the message.

2.2 Errors in selection of lexical items

An error in the selection of lexical items is corrected by making a comment and then substituting the correct word with appropriate accompanying inflections. **jahua hin** 'What is it?' is used like English I mean or Spanish digo; at other times it serves as a hesitation form like Spanish este....

8. **jahuen baque hisinax qui cahi, hojno [nihi meran**
his child sick-being REP go there jungle in

jahua hin huai chian]
what is garden in
'His child being sick he went there in the jungle, I mean (What is it?) in the garden.'

9. **pisi bichi cahue [mama-n jahua hin chichi-n]**
fish get go-IMP mother-VOC what is grandmother-VOC
'Go get the fish, mother, I mean grandmother.'
('Go get the fish, Grandmother.')

10. **hotsa queotai nincabonaxon qui [bena qui jahua**
rabbit call hear-going REP look-for REP what

hin mera qui] jaquin hotsa
is find REP did rabbit
'Going along listening to the rabbit call, he searched for, I mean he found, the rabbit.' ('Going along listening to the rabbit call, he found it.')

The correction may also be effected by interjecting **hih tah hen jai** 'I said' along with a repetition of the erroneous form. (Brackets in the following examples isolate the speaker's identification of the error.)

11. **jaatian qui chibanxon qui** (pause) **[chibanxon hih tah**
then REP following REP following say DECL

hen jai.] jaatian qui jahui rahan bichini
I did then REP came to get it away
'Then having followed (pause) "Having followed" I said. Then he came, yes, to get it away.' ('Then he came to take it away.'

In a few instances I have observed a potential mistake to be signaled by the statement **hihtahin** 'I almost said'.

12. **Pahenax qui jahui can jahuen bene [jahuen roha**
being-drunk REP came her husband her brother

hihtahin]
say-almost
'Being drunk her husband came. I almost said "her brother."'
('Her husband came home drunk.')

Yet another scheme was to correct by first denying a statement just pronounced by negating it, and then offering the correction.

13. **--Noquen huai jistatahnon cahue.**
our garden to-see-first go

--Jisnon cahue, cahisen.
to-see go then

[Noquen huai jistatahnon cahue hahyama qui jaquin.]
our garden to-see-first go said-not REP did

Mama xequi banati pishca yocahue, noquen huai non
mother corn to-plant small ask our garden we

banahi canon hah qui jaquin.
to-plant go said REP did
'"Let's go so that we can look at our garden." He did not say, "Let's go so that we can look at our garden." He said, "Go ask Mother for some corn to plant, so that we can go plant."'

14. **hahquirihbi jahui qui** (pause), [**joyamahi qui rahan**]
again come REP come-not REP yes
'He came again (pause). No, he did not come.'

Another kind of error is the committing of a social blunder by saying the wrong thing. In one legend the protagonist is depicted as having to extricate himself from such a statement by denying that he had said it.

15. **Min tah min mae hahtanai. Mihres caman.** [**Mihres**
you DECL you beer drink you-only until you-only

caman hih tah hen jayamahi, chahin]
until say DECL I did-not cousin
'You went to drink. Only you ("Lucky you").
"Only you" I do not say.'

In this case the sentence was grammatically correct with **mihres caman** but there was an implied criticism that his host had gone off to a drinking party while he, the guest, had to stay in the house. The guest hastily corrected himself so that he would not be considered impolite.

2.3 Correction to add new information

Adding new information involves the same process as that used to correct the selection of a lexical item. Sometimes a word mentioned brings to the speaker's mind information that he feels should be added. This indicates that a speaker is aware not only of a standard against which he matches the enunciation as he says it, but that he must simultaneously bear in mind the amount of information the listener can be expected to have as background for interpreting the sentence. For corrections of this nature a pause, or a pause and a comment, follow the word, then the additional information is given.

16. **Jaa qui** [**bonco** (pause) **bochiqui jihui boncoya**] **janohax...**
he REP brush high tree brush there-from
'He, they say, the brush, (pause) from the brush high in the tree...' ('From the brush high up in the tree, he...')

17. **Basiscaiya qui jocatsih sca qui jai can jaa nea**
long-time-when REP come-want REP do he this

jan (pause) [**Jaa tah hen mia yohiyamahi. Jaa tah**
he that DECL I you tell-NEG that DECL

hen behnohahqui.]
I forgot
'When he had been there a long time and was wanting to come, this, that, he... (pause) I didn't tell you about

that. I forgot that.' The narrator above then went on to supply the information that she had forgotten to give.

18. **Jistanhue, jochin, noquen mamaya** (pause) **[jahan**
see-go son our mother-with that-on
qui yohiquin rahan]
REP speak yes
'Go see, son. Our mother and... (pause) Yes, to speak about that.'

19. **[Texe tah hen behnohi tsaben.] Jascanoxon pari...**
part DECL I forgot sister-in-law that-to-do first
'I forgot part, sister-in-law. Before that happened...'

2.4 Word search

At times of uncertainty the narrator gropes for the right word or the right construction. As in correcting a lexical item, she would make a comment about what she was saying and then proceed. Such comments include **jahua hin** 'what is it' (also used in correction of lexical items; see 2.2), **ra, rah** 'perhaps', and **honanyamatain** 'I don't know'.

20. **[jahuen... jahuen jahua hin] jahuen baque jahuiton**
his (pause) his what is his son having-come
'his, his, what is it, his son having come...'

21. **Caxon sca qui [jahuerahnon rah cahi can].**
going REP where perhaps go
Benahihnibahin ra jaquin can
look-for-upriver perhaps went
'Having gone, where perhaps did he go. Upriver perhaps he went searching.'

22. **Jaatian qui noquen** (pause) **[noquen** (pause) **xenibo**
then REP our our ancestors
hihni hihnibo ra qui honanyamatain].
died dead-ones perhaps REP know-not
'Then our (pause) our (pause) ancestors, having-died-ones perhaps, I don't know.'

An otherwise unsignaled correction of lexical selection is indicated by breaking off the improper choice, even at times word medially, then providing the correct form. No comment accompanies this kind of correction.

23. **hori [jahuen hue-** (pause) **huetsa quini]**
there his oth- other hole
'over there his oth- (pause) another hole'

24. **jaa** [**ba-** (pause) **beronan**] **pishcaton**
that boy small
'that small boy' (substitution of 'boy' for 'baby' **baque**)

25. **jaatian qui mehuetanquin pota jan jaah bi qui**
then REP hand-grabbing throw he had but REP

jaa (pause) **jaa rihbi qui** [**me-** (pause) **huemebahini**] **cahi**
he/she she also REP hooking went
'Then when he had taken her by the hand and was throwing her, she (pause) she also hooked her claws into him as she went.'

3 Summary of conclusions

This Capanahua speaker's strategy for correction is different for the two types of error. Grammatical errors are corrected by retracing a false start and repairing the ungrammatical construction without a comment to the listener to indicate that a correction is being effected. The narration then continues. Correction of the selection of a lexical item is usually accompanied by a comment by the narrator about what she is saying--the overt signs of editing which Hockett termed dequotation marks. Such an instance is the overt statement **jahua hin** 'what is it/I mean', which alerts the listener to the fact that an improper selection has been made and that it is being replaced by another choice. The listener could not be expected to rely on his inventory of rules of grammar to sort out an infelicitous lexical selection so must be appropriately warned. **jahua hin** warns him.

The fact that there are two different strategies for self-correction coincides with Jakobson's hypothesis in 1.3 that the speech process involves two operations: selection of lexical items and concatenation of them into a structured string.

The grammatical errors involve incorrect concord with a word that would occur later in the sentence. Since the constituent governing the grammatical concord is not spoken before the correction was made, it is clear that the cause of the error is insufficient anticipation of the governing constituent. This is just the opposite of what Cohen (1973:89) claims to be the cause of phonological errors. His study led to the conclusion that anticipation is the disturbing factor. This leads to the interesting question of whether, in a performance model, there are different processes in organizing the phonological features from those used in organizing the grammatical features.

Retraced false starts always include more than a repetition of the suffix to be corrected: the whole word or more is repeated. In an agglutinative language such as Capanahua, in which it is possible for one word to comprise lengthy polymorphemic strings,

there is no reason to suppose that in correcting herself the speaker should repeat the whole string that forms the word rather than repeat only the syllable, morpheme, or final morphemes (i.e., the final portion of the word) that immediately precede the corrected element. The fact that the retracing always began at word borders constitutes evidence for the hypothesis that discrete units demarcated by word borders are a real part of a native speaker's competence.

Hesitations and false starts occur at times of word search. When an improper lexical selection has been made, pauses sometimes occur word medially and sometimes morpheme medially. When the speaker realizes she has made the wrong selection, she simply stops articulating immediately. However, unlike the grammatical repair process, such pauses obey no other structural constraints. We conclude that the causes of pause may differ and that structure-sensitive pauses should be distinguished from structure-free pauses. These might be distinguished as natural versus non-natural pauses.

Capanahua self-corrections show that a speaker monitors his speech not only in terms of what the listener can be assumed to know, but also in terms of theoretical constructs such as word borders, lexical units, grammatical categories and phonemes, in that the range of errors is constrained by something that corresponds to these notions. The two different strategies used for making self-corrections constitute evidence that in a performance model the choosing of elements from the lexicon to be used in a sentence may be a different process from the concatenation process that puts the lexical items into a grammatical string.

ABBREVIATIONS

DECL	declarative
FUT-PUR	future-purpose
IMP	imperative
INTER	interrogative
INTRA	intransitive
REP	reportative
VOC	vocative

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BEING NEGATIVE CAN BE POSITIVE

Ger P. Reesink

0 Introduction

When the budding linguist lover tells his girl friend,

1. "I do not love you because you have a straight nose," what does he mean? The reader of a linguistic article containing this sentence has no way of knowing which of the alternative readings in 2 is meant.

2a. NOT love BECAUSE straight nose (The speaker hates straight noses, and this hate permeates his total attitude towards his friend.)

b. love NOT BECAUSE straight nose (BUT BECAUSE of other reasons)

c. love EVEN THOUGH NOT straight nose (implies: you have a crooked nose, I hate crooked noses, but you are so sweet, I love you nevertheless)

What is the reason that it is so hard to choose among 2a, 2b, and 2c?

Kempson (1975) says the difficulty is due to the vagueness that characterizes the semantic content of negation. Whereas the Kiparskys (1971) argue that the negation of a statement such as 3 leaves its presuppositions alone, Kempson maintains that 4 may have any of the readings given in 5:

3. Mary cleaned the room.

4. Mary did not clean the room.

5a. It was not Mary who cleaned the room.

b. It was not the room that Mary cleaned.

c. It was not cleaning that Mary did to the room.

d. Mary cleaned the room but it did not get clean.

e. The room was not dirty, so she couldn't have cleaned it.

In other words, according to Kempson, 3 does not have 6 as its presupposition, as the Kiparskys have suggested by excluding 5e from the possible interpretations of 4.

6. The room was dirty.

Because in a Truth-semantic analysis (which Kempson says forms the semantic component of any linguistic theory) 5c does not have any preference over any of the other interpretations of 4, including 5e, one cannot say that 4 presupposes 6. And, Kempson reasons, if the semantic theory has to take into account situational factors, one has to give up hope of formulating a theory that is able to predict (explain) the meaning of a sentence on the basis of the meanings of its constituents. In this paper I use the behavior of negation in Usan to suggest that this might be exactly the case, namely, that the meaning of a sentence cannot be exhaustively described or explained by a Truth-semantic based theory.

Lyons (1977:601) points out that it is not possible to determine what the presuppositions of a sentence are without knowing its thematic structure. This is tantamount to saying that presuppositions in natural language are of a pragmatic nature, rather than belonging to the realm of logic. In other words, the question is what the speaker presupposes in uttering a sentence. What the speaker takes for granted as knowledge of the hearer is sometimes more important than what a theoretical unit such as a sentence entails or presupposes. I do not deny that a theory of English must contain the rule that allows 5a-e as possible readings of 4. But the same theory should also explain why the normal interpretation of 4 is one that does not deny 6.

1 Constituent and sentential negation

Traditionally there has been a distinction between constituent negation and sentential negation (cf. Horn 1978). In the former case the negator has as its scope only the constituent in which it occurs, as in 7, whereas the latter kind of negation affects the whole sentence 8.

7. Not many of us wanted the war.

8. Many of us did not want the war.

As Horn (1978:134) points out, however, constituent negation, as in 7, may form the direct opposite of a statement, as seen in 9. The two form contradictory statements, i.e., they exclude each other.

9. Many of us wanted the war.

The sentential negation of 8, although the antithesis of 9, is not necessarily a true statement; i.e., both may be false.

The sentential negation of 4 may be taken as a constituent negation when either phonological or grammatical (or both) signals focus on one constituent, rendering the rest of the sentence presupposed. Consider the placement of primary or contrastive stress, as in 10, and the other topicalization processes, such as clefting as employed in 5a-e.

10a. MARY did not clean the room (but JANE did).

b. Mary did not clean the ROOM (but the KITCHEN).

c. Mary did not CLEAN the room. (She just DECORATED it.)

d. Mary did NOT clean the room; (it's still DIRTY).

e. Mary DIDN'T clean the room; (it was not necessary).

Of course, situational factors are important in determining which alternative the speaker uses. These factors are pragmatic. They depend on what the speaker wishes to imply, what he knows, and what he thinks his hearer knows, wants to hear, expects to be done, etc.

It seems a rather general feature of SOV languages that a constituent negation, as in 7, is not possible (cf. Davison 1978). In the SVO language English, a sentential negation, as in 11a, may be interpreted as a constituent negation, as in 11b, only if the constituent has the universal quantifier ALL, and if this has contrastive stress.

11a. ALL of us did not like the movie.

b. Not all of us liked the movie.

From the data of the SOV language Hindi-Urdu, Davison (1978:34) generalizes the following rule which also holds for non-SOV languages such as English:

> Where a constituent may be understood to be in the scope of a negative, and there is another possible reading in which it is not in the scope of the negative, emphasis may be associated with that constituent only when it <u>is</u> understood to be in the scope of the negative.

Davison's generalization is partially supported by the SOV language Usan, which uses sentential negation and constituent quantification to express the particular negative:

12a. **munon GUGUM me isau**
man all not went-down
'ALL men did not go down.' = 'Not all men went down.'

b. **munon QEBEBI me isau**
man many not went-down
'MANY men did not go down.'

c. **munon GER me isau**
man ONE not went-down
'ONE (particular) man did not go down.'

13a. **munon gugum ME isau**
man all NOT went-down
'All men did not go down.' = 'No one went down.'

b. **munon qebebi ME isau**
man many NOT went-down
'Many men did not go down.'

c. **munon ger ME isau**
man one NOT went-down
'One man did not go down.' = 'No one went down.'

Comparison of 12 and 13 shows that Davison's rule does not apply for the particular quantifier. Primary stress on the quantifiers 'all' and 'many' is glossed by a constituent negation in English: 'not all' and 'not many', in 12a and 12b. The primary stress on the particular quantifier, 12c, makes sure that the constituent remains outside the scope of the negative. Primary stress on the negator in 13 conveys a sentential negation. The result is that both 13a and 13c mean 'no one went down'.

Usan has two negators: **me** without primary stress negates verbs, and **ue** negates nominal material, including nominalized verbs. But **ue** cannot be used as a constituent negator comparable to a construction, as in 7. It negates quality rather than existence. Thus 14 does not mean 'no man came', but 'That which is not a man came'.

14. **munon ue yarerei**
man not he-came
'That which is not a man came.'

The negator **ue** is used in stative sentences, i.e., those that do not have a verb as predicate, as in 15.

15. **mutar uber ue**
mushroom good not
'The mushroom is not good.'

When these descriptive sentences are embedded, the nominal negator is found with the NP constituent, but only as quality negator, 16a = 16b.

16a. **mutar uber ue eng nub mendiriban**
mushroom good not this eat-SR you-will-vomit
'When you eat this mushroom that is not good you will vomit.'

b. **mutar boru eng nub mendiriban**
mushroom bad this eat-SR you-will-vomit
'When you eat this bad mushroom you will vomit.'

(For the meaning of SR in this example and DR in 17, see note 1.)

The nominal negator follows the material whose quality it denies. This is also true for nominalized verbs.[2] If the verb is nominalized, it can only be negated qualitatively, with **ue** following it, and it is then no longer just past tense. In this case a whole sentence, once it is nominalized by virtue of the morphological change on the last verb, may be negated by **ue**, as in 17.

17. **wo di igama ininou yogub isi-isi yarab**
he come stay-DR our fight-SR go-down-until come-SR

ne qob maigas aba gab abau ue
and talk now do-DR see-SR doing not
'It is not like (=the case that) he came up, stayed and we fought with each other until we saw how the problem was doing.'

It seems that nominalization, and hence its negation, may stretch over all the preceding verbs unless some clause(s) is (are) subordinated, i.e., demoted (or promoted, whatever way one wants to look at it) to presuppositional status. Thus in 18 'he came and stayed' is excluded from both the nominalization and the negation. It is asserted that 'they could not discuss the problem' because of another reason, while it is taken for granted that 'he came and stayed'.

18. **wo di igoar eng ininou yogub isi-isi**
he come-up he-stayed this our fight-SR go-down-until

yarab ne qob maigas aba gab abau ue
come-SR and talk how do-DR see-SR doing not
'When he came up and stayed, we (could) not fight with each other until we saw how the problem was doing.'

As we shall see, the scope of the verbal negator **ue** may also be restricted by the use of the determiner **eng**. The verbal negator

me can be used not only as sentential or constituent negator; it may also be used to negate clause conjunctions. In this respect it is somewhat similar to the English sentence negation, as in 1 and 2. Its scope depends on an interplay of grammatical, phonological, and pragmatic factors.

2 Scope of verbal negator

2.1 Negative transportation - clauses of unequal status

The phenomenon of negative transportation has been discussed with respect to clauses of unequal status (Lakoff 1969, Lindholm 1969). The negative in the main clause in 19a is said to have been transported out of its complement, as in 19b, without changing the meaning. Thus, sentences 19a and 19b are seen as paraphrases, while 19a is derived from 19b.

19a. I don't think John will leave until tomorrow.

b. I think John won't leave until tomorrow.

Lindholm (1969) argues this point on the basis of the ungrammaticality of 21, which would have to be generated in the underlying structure if the negative of 20a originated in the matrix sentence.

20. *John will leave until tomorrow.

Lakoff (1969) discusses the same sentences and comes to the conclusion that the evidence involving 'not...until' is not conclusive, either semantically or syntactically, for the rule of negative transportation, if one bases it on this data only. Lakoff's arguments for syntactic evidence for negative transportation basically revolve around two statements.

a) "For verbs of mental state, it is impossible for the Subject to ask whether they are true of him" (p. 143); hence the ungrammaticality of 21.

21. *I suppose the Yankees will win the pennant, don't I?

But such a statement is far too general. Put the whole sentence in the past tense, and a verb of mental state can be questioned with a first person subject:

22a. I thought the Yankees would win the pennant, didn't I?

b. I didn't think the Yankees would win, did I?

b) "It is as much nonsense to think of a negated performative as a questioned performative, by the very nature of a performative verb" (p. 144).

This statement is made to assert that 'suppose' in 23a and 23b is a real performative.

23a. I don't suppose the Yankees will win, will they?

b. *I don't suppose the Yankees will win, (do I? / won't they?).

According to Lakoff, 23a is derived from 24.

24. I suppose (The Yankees will not win, will they?).

I do not see why negated performatives are so nonsensical; see 25.

25. I don't claim that I know everything.

Lakoff states with regard to 24, "only after tag-question formation can the negative be removed from the lower sentence, unless we are to deny that the tag-question can be formulated generally at all" (p. 144).

Her example, i.e., 24, involves a true performative: first person subject and present tense. A change in either makes the third person tag-question ungrammatical.

26a. *I didn't think the Yankees would win, would they?

b. I didn't think the Yankees would win, did I?

27a. *You don't suppose the Yankees will win, will they?

b. You don't suppose the Yankees will win, do you?

It would seem that a general formation of the tag-question must be different from Lakoff's proposal, unless one is happy with alternating orders of tag-question formation and negative transportation, depending on tense and subject person of the main clause.

One suggestion is that the tag-question is formed pragmatically, as an alternative question, triggered by the main statement or assertion the speaker makes. This would account for the examples mentioned so far. The result is that sentences 23a and 23b no longer can be used as syntactic evidence for the rule of negative transportation.

Both Lindholm (1969) and Lakoff (1969) credit Bolinger for the observation that pairs such as 19 are not quite synonymous. The b-member always conveys a little stronger negation. This observation would discredit the proposed rule of negative transportation.

There are other serious problems for the syntactic rule of negative transportation, if intended as universal rather than applicable to English only, coming from Dutch. Consider 28.

28a. **Ik denk niet dat hij gekomen is.**
I think not that he come has
'I don't think he has come.'

b. **Ik denk dat hij niet gekomen is.**
I think that he not come has
'I think he hasn't come.'

According to the theory of negative transportation, 28a is derived from 28b, and the meanings of the two sentences are close to synonymous. Some adverbial additions, however, do not seem to allow this interpretation. Consider 29 and 30.

29a. **Ik denk dat hij nog niet gekomen is.**
I think that he yet not come has
'I think that he has not come yet.'

b. ***Ik denk niet dat hij nog gekomen is.**[3]
I think not that he yet come has
'I don't think that he has come yet.'

30a. **Ik denk niet dat hij al gekomen is.**
I think not that he already come has
'I don't think that he has already come.'

b. ***Ik denk dat hij al niet gekomen is.**
I think that he already not come has
'I think that he has not come already.'

The underlying structures of 29a and 30a cannot be other than 31 and 32 respectively.

31. **Ik denk (Hij is nog niet gekomen)**
I think he has yet not come

32. **Ik denk niet (Hij is al gekomen)**
I think not he has already come

There is more to say about negative transportation--how certain verbs allow it, others do not, and still others require it (cf. Horn 1978). One way of looking at it might be that a sentence such as 33a implies 33b, but the reverse is not the case.

33a. I think he has not come.

b. I don't think he has come.

That is, if the content of a mental state is negated, that entails the negative state regarding the positive of that content. But the negative mental state, 33b, does not necessarily imply the positive mental state involving the negated content, 33a, i.e., one might be thinking of something else altogether. This would explain why sentences with the negative in the main clause, as 33b, are universally perceived as weaker (cf. Horn 1978:181) than those with the negative in the subordinated clause, as 33a. The semantic closeness of the two negations, or, rather, the fact that the pragmatic functions are very similar, may have influenced certain syntactic assimilations, such as the use of 'until' in the subordinated clause of 19a, even though this is positive in the surface structure. The difference in degree of negative sense is parallel to what we find in Usan: 34a is stronger than 34b as far as the mental state concerning 'his not coming' is concerned.

34a. **Wo me yariba end misir igoum.**
he not he-will-come this-at thoughts I-hear
'I think he will not come.'

b. **Wo yariba end misir me igoum.**
he he-will-come this-at thoughts not I-hear
'I don't think he will come.'

My tentative conclusion with regard to the putative universal rule of negative transportation is that pragmatic similarity should not be taken as evidence for the syntactic rule, especially if there are strong counter-examples such as 31 and 32.

I now leave the notion of negative transportation from subordinate into main clauses. There seem to be more genuine cases of a negative movement. These have to do with coordinated sentences, rather than subordinated ones.

2.2 Negative transportation - clauses of equal status

Interpretation 2c of 1, here repeated, requires the negative to apply in a clause that is not negated, and not to apply in the clause in which it occurs.

(1) I do not love you because you have a straight nose.

(2c) Love EVEN THOUGH NOT straight nose. (implies: You have a crooked nose; I hate crooked noses, but you are so sweet, I love you nevertheless.)

Another example, this time with clauses of clearly equal status, is 35.

35. I did not hit the child and drive on.

What is being denied by 35 is not that 'I hit the child', but that 'I drove on' after I had hit the child. Why do we find the negative in the first conjunct? It would seem that the denial is made stronger, probably made by an indignant speaker. Likewise 36a seems to be stronger than 36b.

36a. Men do not light a lamp and put it under a bushel.

b. When people light a lamp, they do not put it under a bushel.

In 36a it is the conjunction between the two clauses that is being denied, which is of a purposive nature.[4]

The same sentence, with specific agent and past tense 37 becomes ambiguous.

37. He did not light the lamp and put it under a bushel.

The two possible readings of 37 are 38a and 38b, of which the former is like 36a in denying the purpose relation, whereas the latter denies only the first conjunct.

38a. He did not light the lamp in order to put it under a bushel.

b. He did not light the lamp but put it under a bushel.

Subordination of the first clause of 37 disambiguates it completely:

39a. {Given that / When} he lit the lamp he did not put it under a bushel.

b. {Given that he didn't light the lamp / The lamp that he did not light} he put {it / #} under a bushel.

With respect to the negation of conjoined clauses, it seems that the SOV language Usan forms a mirror image of the SVO language English. That is, in Usan the negative in the first clause may never negate only the following one. But the negative in the following clause may negate only the preceding one, but does not necessarily do so. In order to see how this is done, it is necessary first to consider the scope of the negative across clause boundaries. Consider 40a and 40b.

40a. **Ye iau me waramine umau.**
I dog not I-hit-DR died

b. **Ye iau waramine me umau.**
I dog I-hit-DR not died

As they stand in isolation, both of these sentences are ambiguous as negative counterparts of 41.

41. **Ye iau waramine umorei.**
I dog I-hit-DR it-died
'I killed the dog.'

Both 40a and 40b may mean:

42a. It was not I who hit the dog, so that it died.
(SOMEONE ELSE DID IT
IT DIED NATURALLY.)

b. I hit the dog, but it did not die. IT JUST RAN AWAY.

Disambiguation is effected by the extralinguistic situation. If the speaker answers someone who has seen his dead dog and asks him whether he has killed his dog and he answers 40a or 40b, it is not likely that the meaning is 42b. On the other hand, if it is clear that the dog is not dead and the speaker utters 40a or 40b, then 42a is ruled out and 42b is the appropriate reading.

Usan has lexical stress and may use this phonological device to disambiguate vague negative sentences. Thus, primary stress on **ye** 'I' in 40a denies that the speaker killed the dog, implying that someone else may have done it. In 40b, a slight pause after **waramine**, I-hit-DR, with primary stress on **me** 'not' makes the interpretation of 42b most likely.

At first glance 40a and 40b would suggest that the position of the negative in either the preceding or following clause is immaterial. However, there are differences in acceptability due to inherent semantic features of the verbs involved. Acceptability is dependent on the closeness of the interrelationship between the conjoined clauses. But how is one to determine whether two clauses are closely related, and to what extent?

The problem is related to the question as to what constitutes an expectancy chain (Longacre 1976:151), or what exactly belongs to a script (Schank 1975:264). When Schachter (1977:91) formulated his coordinate construction constraint as "the constituents of a coordinate conjunction must belong to the same syntactic category and have the same semantic function," he begged the question of 'sameness'. He formulated the constraint to rule out conjunctions of questions and statements, such as 43, or imperatives and statements, but 44 shows that at least a surface form imperative can be conjoined with a statement.

43. *Did you eat your porridge and I ate my cereal.

44. Break the window and I will spank you.

In 44 notice that the form of "Break the window" is an imperative, but its function is a statement, "If you break." It may be that the "speech acts" must be the same.

Apparently, sameness, either syntactic or semantic, is a rather elusive concept. The same holds for 'close relatedness'. The sequence of clauses in 40 forms a close relationship. In fact, it is the only way in which the concept of 'killing' can be expressed in Usan. But **iau** 'dog' in 40 is an affected Object (Affiziertes Objekt) of $Verb_1$ and Subject of V_2, and **waramine**, I-hit-DR, is not an absolutely necessary condition for **umau** 'dying'. Thus the clauses in 40 seem to be less closely related than the clauses in 45.

45. **Ye namanimun me gumat bigine isau.**
I letter not write-SR I-put-DR went-down
'I didn't write a letter and put it and (so) it did (not) go down' = 'I did not send a letter.'

The object of the first verb **gumat** 'write' is an effected Object (Effiziertes Objekt), and so this event forms an absolutely necessary condition for the next events, **bigine**, I-put-DR, and **isau**, going-down, of which **namanimun** 'letter' is affected Object and Subject respectively. Thus, 45 is not ambiguous. It cannot mean 46a, only 46b.

46a. *I did not write the letter; it went down by itself.

b. I did not write the letter, and so it did not go down.

(Of course, if the extralinguistic situation is such that the hearer in fact did receive a letter, then 45, with contrastive stress on **ye** 'I', is to be interpreted as 'It was not I who sent you a letter; someone else has written you.')

When the negative is placed in front of the last verb of 45, as in 47, again it could not mean 46a for the reasons already mentioned.

47. **Ye namanimun gumat bigine me isau.**
I letter write-SR I-put-DR not went-down

But in 47 a real vagueness (cf. Atlas 1977 for vagueness of negative sentences rather than ambiguity) is created.

Let us suppose that the hearer has not received anything. From hearing 47, spoken without contrastive stress, the only certainty that the hearer has is that the letter has not gone. He cannot be certain about the denial of **gumat** 'write' or **bigine**, 'I-put-DR.' In other words, 47 may mean: 'I wrote and put the letter (in the mail) but it didn't go down.' It may also mean: 'I did not write

the letter and so I didn't put it and so it didn't go down,' which would be equivalent to the 46b reading of 45. This vagueness allows the speaker to be noncommitted as to what exactly is being denied. He does not have to admit frankly that he didn't do something that was expected of him.

3 Negation and presupposition

The vagueness of 47 may be canceled by differentiating clearly between presupposition and assertion. As the determiner **eng** interrupted the backward extension of the scope of **ue** 'not' in 18, so it can check the application of **me** 'not'. This would require the relativization of either one or both of the preceding clauses, as given in 48, involving a final verb affixation on the last verb of the relative clause.

48a. **Ye namanimun gumatem eng bigine me isau.**
I letter I-wrote this I-put-DR not went-down
'The letter that I wrote, I did (not) put, and so it did not go down.'

b. **Ye namanimun gumat bigom eng me isau.**
I letter write-SR I-put this not went-down
'The letter that I wrote and put did not go down.'

In 48a there is still indeterminacy regarding the negation of **bigine**, I-put-DR. In 48b that action too is presupposed, taken for granted.

The determiner **eng** functions as a firm barrier (cf. Karttunen's (1973) usage of the term 'plug' with regard to predicates). A negative in the matrix sentence cannot affect the material that is embedded and limited by **eng**. Neither can a negative within the embedded clause be applied to material outside it. Hence 40 can be disambiguated by the same operation.

49a. **Ye iau me waram eng umorei.**
I dog not I-hit-FP this it-died-FP
'The dog that I did not hit died' =
'I did not hit the dog, but it died.'

b. **Ye iau waram eng me umau.**
I dog I-hit-FP this not dying
'The dog that I hit did not die.' =
'I hit the dog, but it did not die.'

In neither 49a nor 49b is there any question about the positive and negative nature of the two events.[5]

The possible retroactive extension of the scope of the negative seems a rather general feature of Papuan languages. So is the fact that this extension can be halted by the morpheme that indi-

cates presuppositional material, whether it is a conditional or a relative clause. (These two types of clauses are similar if not identical as far as their syntactic structure is concerned in many Papuan languages.) Consider these two sentences, 50, from Hua, a language in the Papua New Guinea Highlands--two languages that Haiman (1976:266) uses to make the same point. The desinence **ma** in 50 "marks propositions that are valid independently of the mood, tense or validity of the final clause," so that the extended scope of **a'** 'not' in 50a is not possible in 50b.

50a. **Ebgi - na a' - gi - e**
kill - and-he not - cook-it - he
'He did not kill and cook it.'

b. **Ebgi - ma na a' - gi - e**
kill - he and-he not - cook-it - he
'He killed it, and (but) he didn't cook it.'

When a relative clause is used in what can be called a definition-like construction, the position of the negator is less restricted. Whether it occurs within the boundaries of the RC or outside, what is being negated is the material in the RC. Compare 51a and 51b.

51a. He is a man who is not married = he is not married.

b. He is not a man who is married = he is not married.

Langendoen (1971:342) used these sentences to show that a noun like 'bachelor' does not have a component such as 'male' as presupposition, because it doesn't matter in which clause the negative occurs. Of course, in 51b 'who is married' is not a presupposition, because that is the part that is being negated.

Similarly in Usan, material in a RC, i.e., limited by the embedding determiner **eng**, may be negated by a negative outside of it. But in that case we are dealing with a defining construction. The embedding has turned the clause into nominal material and the negation focuses on the quality, rather than on the existence, and must be done with the nominal negator **ue**. Compare 52 and 53.

52. **Ye mi urim baum eng ue.**
I thing illicitly I-took this not
'I am not the one who stole something.'

53. **Ye mi urim me baiau.**
I thing illicitly not taking
'I did not steal anything.'

4 Degrees in presuppositional status

There is another way, of course, to disambiguate the sentences of 40, and that is by simply not mentioning the event that is not in focus for the negation:

54a. **ye iau me waramau**
I dog not hitting
'I did not hit the dog.'

54b. **iau me umau**
dog not dying
'The dog did not die.'

Why would a speaker wanting to deny one event choose the coordinate constructions of 40 over 54? Probably for a reason similar to why he combines certain clauses in a coordinate construction: they have enough syntactic and semantic similarities to go together, in accordance with Schachter's constraint. But that is clearly not enough, if the oddity of 55 is to be explained.

55. I cut a tree, and Max sailed the world.

Both members of the conjunction in 55 are transitive, declarative clauses. Why is their conjunction at least strange? Lakoff (1971) tried to explain that there are two ANDs in natural language. The one is similar to the logical connector, so that the conjuncts are interchangeable without change in meaning. The other one has a kind of sequential meaning, which requires that the first conjunct is a presupposition for the second one. Dik (1968) had likewise argued on the basis of sentences such as 56 that natural language AND is not identical to the logical connector AND.

56. She ate arsenic and she fell ill.

It would seem that language users force a real-world connection on clauses that they hear conjoined in one sentence. If they cannot find either a common denominator or a temporal sequence, they find the conjunction less acceptable or totally to be rejected, depending on the degree of mismatch.

Kempson's (1975) criticism of Lakoff (1971) focuses on the fact that it is theoretically always possible to construct a set of presuppositions that make any conjunction acceptable. Her conclusion, then, is that such pragmatic presuppositions should not have a place in the grammar. The problem with this conclusion is that the grammaticality of certain clause-chains in Usan is determined by such presuppositions.

In the case of a temporal sequence, that which is mentioned first can from then on be taken for granted. It serves as presupposed information for the following material. Another way of saying this is: it forms the background for the rest of the picture. If I am allowed to make some further use of this metaphor: some background material is more closely linked to the figure than other material. Since a metaphor does not prove a statement about linguistic phenomena, much less would an extension of the metaphor. The language data must prove this if the metaphor has any validity as a linguistic statement. I believe they do.

First of all, coordination of clauses normally follows the chronological order of events they describe. In the description of the building of a house 57a is acceptable, while 57b is odd, if not completely wrong.

57a. **wuri qoren nagsi magari weipiamirei**
they stud erect-SR rafter they-spread
'They put up the studs and spread the rafters.'

b. **wuri magari weipi qoren nagsiamirei**
they rafter spread-SR stud they-erected
'They spread the rafters and put up the studs.'

Secondly, pronominal reference or deletion under referential identity is only possible once the information is given, i.e., can be presupposed, taken for granted. Further, people's response to forward or backward negation of 57a differs.

58a. ***wuri qoren me nagsi magari weipiamirei**
they stud not erect-SR rafter they-spread-FP

b. **wuri qoren me nagsi magari weipimau**
they stud not erect-SR rafter spreading

c. **wuri qoren nagsi magari me weipimau**
they stud erect-SR rafter not spreading

Notice first that it is ungrammatical to negate an event that normally precedes the event of the second clause, and at the same time to assert that second event, as in 58a.

Since the first event is normally taken as a presupposition for the second, the coordination of the negative first clause and the positive second one is not possible. If one wanted to do that, one would have to use 58b, which expresses a sense of surprise. The expectancy chain is broken. The first, i.e., preferred, response to 58c is the interpretation that takes the first event for granted and the second one as denied.

Likewise 40b, here repeated, has as its preferred interpretation the reading that takes the first conjunct as presupposed, yet not as definitely as 49b would require.

40b. **Ye iau waramine me umau.**
I dog I-hit-DR not die
'I hit the dog (but) it did not die'

Consider another example:

59a. **munon man suab mani me ubau**
man garden cut-SR yam not planting

b. **munon man suab (wogub) ne mani me ubau**
man garden cut-SR leave-SR and yam not planting

c. **munon man suor eng mani me ubau**
man garden he-cut-FP this yam not planting

Even though, theoretically, the negator **me** may include the preceding verb **suab** in 59a, a first interpretation of 59a is one that restricts the negation to the second conjunct.

The clause boundary becomes more impenetrable with addition of either the periphrastic verb **wogub** 'leave' (= 'finished', a completive) or the coordinating connector **ne** 'and (so)', or both, as in 59b.

When the first clause is relativized, 59c, it has become an explicit presupposition. The proposition 'the man cut out the garden' has become the background for the figure of the negative assertion that he did not plant. The negative in 59c can in no way be applied to the relative clause.

Now, when one event cannot be readily interpreted as having common interest with another event, yet they are conjoined and then the latter event is negated, the hearer knows that something 'fishy' is going on. His reaction is that the speaker must be saying$_1$ something else than he is saying$_2$, since he is obviously flouting one of the maxims belonging to the cooperative principle (see Grice 1975), namely, 'be brief' or 'avoid obscurity'.

60. **ye iau waramb isub nam me suau**
I dog hit-SR go-down-SR tree not cutting

Why would the speaker coordinatingly conjoin the fact that he hit the dog, went down, and then did not cut the tree? Because he is being accused of hitting his neighbor's dog and then leaving silently. The meaning of 60 is:

61. 'I did <u>not</u> hit the dog and then go down and cut the tree.'

Similarly, the English example 19 flouts Grice's brevity maxim. The denial 'I did not drive on' would have been enough. The speaker's indignation makes him take in the first event as well. And now it is clear how SOV Usan is a mirror image of SVO English. English 'NOT V_1 and V_2' means really 'V_1 and NOT V_2'; whereas Usan 'V_1 and NOT V_2' really means 'NOT V_1 but V_2'.[2] (See further 6 Conclusion, for specific constraints.)

5 Closeness of clause relations and negation

It seems, then, that the behavior of negation in multiclausal sentences supplies some formal indication of what can be considered closely related events. Concepts such as 'expectancy chain' and 'script' are intuitively attractive. Even though they may not be defined in terms of formal syntax, certain syntactic criteria seem to be indicative as to what events belong to, say, a causal chain, which is a subunit of a script.

Two kinds of clause chains seem to form the highest degree of closeness: (a) clauses that have identical subjects and objects, and (b) a combination of clauses in which the object of the first one becomes the subject of the second one. The first category implies that the verbs denote actions that are both appropriately done by the same agent as well as both appropriately done to the same object, for example:

62. **ye teteri waramb (ye) (teteri) me yamau**
I chicken hit-SR (I) (chicken) not cooking

a. 'I did not hit the chicken and (so) I did not cook it.'

b. 'I hit the chicken but did not cook it.'

c. *'I didn't hit the chicken, but cooked it anyway.'

If this is the case, then 62a is the preferred interpretation, b is possible, but c is impossible.

With regard to the second category, it seems that when the second verb is intransitive, i.e., a process that the object of the first verb undergoes as a result of the action carried out by the agent of the first verb, the relation is tighter than when the second clause involves another transitive event. In other words, the clauses in 41 are more closely related than those in 63a or in 63b.

63. **Ye iau waramine umorei.**
I dog I-hit-OR it-died
'I killed the dog.'

a. **ye iau waramine wau me goau**
I dog hit-OR child not biting

b. **ye iau me waramine wau goau**
I dog not I-hit-DR child biting

The preferred interpretation of 63a is, 'since I hit the dog, it did not bite the child', whereas the preferred interpretation of 63b is, 'the dog bit the child, not because I hit it', i.e., I am not to blame.

In general, one could say that processes are less often prerequisites for actions than the other way round. This impression is borne out by the fact that Usan less frequently conjoins intransitive clauses preceding transitive ones than it does transitive ones preceding intransitive ones.

When it does have the intransitive clause first, there seems to be more presuppositional status for the first clause, i.e., the negation of the following clause is less likely applied to the preceding one. Consider 64.

64. **ye umo isub mi ger me baiau**
I down go-down-SR thing one not taking

a. 'I went down but did not get anything.'

b. 'I did not go down and so I did not get anything.'

The preferred interpretation is 64a, but not to the complete exclusion of 64b. 64b would be excluded if the first conjunct were subordinated:

65. **ye umo isom eng mi ger me baiau**
I down I-went-down this thing one not taking
'I went down, but did not get anything.'
(= given that I went down, I did not get anything)

With regard to the coordination of intransitive V_1 and transitive V_2, there is even a tendency to pull the object of V_2 in front of V_1, as in 66, but that makes the interpretation of the negation even less decisive: 64a and 64b are equally valid for 66.

66. **ye mi ger umo isub me baiau**
I thing one down go not taking

When two clauses have different subjects as well as different objects and the S of V_2 is not referentially identical to O of V_1, they may be coordinatingly conjoined, but negation of one conjunct cannot be applied to the other. Note that 67b is totally unacceptable and 67c is intelligible, but that the better expression is 67d.

67a. **ye mani nine wuri qori numirei**
I yam I-eat-DR they banana they-ate
'I ate yam and they ate bananas.'

b. *ye mani me nine wuri qori niau
I yam not I-eat-DR they banana ate

c. ye mani me nine wuri qori numirei
I yam not I-eat-DR they banana they-ate
'While I did not eat yam, they ate bananas.'

d. ye mani me niau igama wuri qori numirei
I yam not eating it-stay-DR they banana they-ate
'While I did not eat yam (the fact) existed, they ate bananas.'

e. ye mani nine wuri qori me niau
I yam I-eat-DR they banana not ate
'While I ate yam, they did not eat bananas.'

There are no problems with 67e. The negation of the second conjunct can in no way be applied to the first one.

When the first clause has 'to give' as its verb, we may have a situation of different S's and different O's, yet have the S of V_2 identical to O of V_1, because 'give' has two Objects, a Recipient and a Patient.

68.

	S_1	O_{R1}	O_{P1}		$S_2=O_{R1}$	$O_{P2}=O_{P1}$
	yamangar	wau	mani	uta	(wau)	(mani)
	woman	child	yam	she-give-him-DR	Ø	Ø

me niau
not ate

a. 'The woman gave yam to the child but he didn't eat it.'

b. 'The woman did not give yam to the child and so he did not eat it.'

c. 'The woman did not give yam to the child, but he ate it anyway.'

The result is that the two clauses of 68 stand in the same relationship to each other as those of 62 and 40. This implies that all three readings of 68 are possible, in the order of preference as stated in 68a, b, and c.

These examples, of course, do not give a final answer to the question of what determines a close relationship between clauses, or what it is that constitutes an expectancy chain or script. I have tried to give formal criteria by referring to syntactic categories; but since scripts are "predetermined, stereotyped sequences of actions that define well-known situations" (Schank 1975:264), these kinds of culturally defined chains of events cannot be completely defined by formal syntactic criteria. For example, it may be possible to have two different

actions with the same Subject and Object that cannot be appropriately brought together in a coordinate conjunction:

69. ***munon mani gininget (munon) (mani) yemirei**
men yam tie-up-SR man yam they-cooked
'The men tied up the yam and cooked it.'

Sentence 69 is unacceptable, not because **gininget** 'tie up' would be a collocational clash with **mani** 'yam', as, for example, **mindat** 'to build' would be. **Gininget** 'tying up' of yams is done for a traditional dance-feast, but before they can be cooked, the yam heap must be broken down (**bapami**) first. Certain links are left out and the coordination in 69 is unacceptable.

70. **munon mani ba siri yab numirei**
man yam take-SR peel-SR cook-SR they-ate-FP
'The men took the yams, peeled them, cooked them and ate them.'

In 70 all the events are actions involving the same Subjects and Objects. They form a better clause chain than 69; however, the presence of **siri** 'to peel' makes it rather unnatural, because **yab** 'cook' implies that the 'peeling' has been done. While 69 did not give enough information, 70 gives too much.

71a. **munon mani me ba siri yab niau**
man yam not take peel cook eating

b. **munon mani ba siri yab me niau**
man yam take peel cook not eating

This explains why the negation 71a, grammatically extending over four verbs, causes confusion for the hearer. If he didn't take the yam in the first place why add that he didn't peel, cook, or eat it? It also accounts for the fact that the preferred interpretation of 71b is one that is equivalent to 72.

72. **munon mani ba siriamir eng yab me niau**
man yam take they-peeled this cook-SR not eating
'The men did not cook and eat the yam that they had taken and peeled.'

Strictly speaking, the scope of the negative in 71b as well as in 72 is indeterminate. The verb **yab** 'cook' may or may not be included in the scope of **me** 'not'. The preferred reading (= the gloss for 72) is indicative for what is an expectancy chain in Usan: 'cook and eat' is seen as a unit. Normally the negation of the second action implies the negation of the first one as well. The action of 'peeling' is not as clearly part of this chain, and

so the fact that it is mentioned in the sequence 71b suggests to the hearer that this should be seen as an established presupposition with the following material as the negative assertion, which is clearer still in 72.

Parallel to 60 with the interpretation of 61, 71b should theoretically be able to be interpreted as 73.

73. 'The man did not peel the yam; he just cooked and ate it.'

But culturally **yab** is not done to an unpeeled yam. It may be cooked unpeeled, but not in water. When it is cooked in the fire the action is lexicalized differently: **iset** 'roast'. Thus, even though the grammar would allow 73 as an interpretation of 71, the lexicalization of cultural scripts makes such an interpretation very unlikely, whereas there is no such inhibition in the case of 60 and 61.

6 Conclusion

In section 3.1 I cited data that posit serious problems for the rule of negative transportation as it has been suggested by various linguists (see Horn (1978) for a summary and 'universal' application of this rule). Subsequently I gave data from English and Usan that show that a different kind of negative movement rule seems to be required by diverse languages. I discussed a few pragmatic effects of this movement, but have not tried to formalize the phenomenon.

For English 74 and Dutch 75, it seems that the negative may be moved from the second member of the conjunct (which is the one that is pragmatically negated) into the first member if the second one is reduced from a S to a VP.

74a.	I hit	the child		and I did NOT drive on.
				but
b.	I hit	the child	?*	and Ø did NOT drive on.
				but
c.	I did NOT hit	the child		and
			*	but Ø Ø Ø drive on.

75a. **men steekt een lamp aan en men zet 'm niet onder**
one lights a lamp (on) and one puts it not under

een standaard
a bushel

b. ?***men steekt een lamp niet aan en Ø zet 'm Ø onder**
one lights a lamp not (on) and puts it under

een standaard
a bushel

c. **men steekt niet een lamp ∅ aan en ∅ zet 'm ∅ onder een standaard**

d. **niemand steekt ∅ een lamp aan en ∅ zet 'm ∅ onder een standaard**
no-one lights a lamp (on) and puts it under a bushel

As 74 shows, the coordination of the full sentences with the negative in the second conjunct allows both 'and' and 'but'; deletion of the identical subject from the second conjunct makes 'and' questionable and works fine with 'but'. The movement of the negative into the first conjunct does not allow 'but' at all. 'But' would be all right if the second conjunct were in the past tense, but the meaning would be radically different: the negative would apply to the first clause and not to the second.

Dutch 75 provides a similar argument. The difference in acceptability between 75c and 75d as against 75b has to do with the position of the negative after it has been moved out of the second conjunct. The normal order would be the one in b, i.e., following the Object, as the examples of 76 show.

76a. **Ik sla een kind niet.** (It is not my custom; the primary
I hit a child not stress is on the verb.)

b. **Ik sla het kind niet.**
I hit the child not

c. ?***Ik sla niet een kind.** (but a man; primary stress on
I hit not a child Object)

d. ?***Ik sla niet het kind.** (but his dog; primary stress
I hit not the child on Object)

The starred sentences in 76, which have the negative preceding the Object, can be used when it is understood that something else is hit, i.e., in a contrastive sense, involving a conjunction following the sentence. It is this order of negative and Object that is the better one in 75 because, as in 76c and 76d, the first conjunct does not stand by itself.

In 75c the Object does not need primary stress; that may fall on the verb **steekt** 'light' in the first member or on **standaard** 'bushel' in the second one. In 75d the primary stress clearly falls on **niemand** 'no one'.

In Usan, a SOV language that coordinates by way of medial verbs, the normal, or most frequent, way to negate coordinated sentences is by extending the scope of the negative backwards. As I have tried to indicate, when the series of clauses constitutes a fixed set of events, the preferred reading of such a sentence is

the one that negates all events. A possible reading is that the negative applies only to the clause in which it occurs: 77b, but 77a is a more natural interpretation.

77. **musub** **qamararí** **me** **igau**
(not) make-well-SR (not) they-say-OR not hearing

a. 'They did not tell me everything (and so I did not hear).'

b. 'They told me everything but I didn't hear (it).'

78. ***narau** **(me)** **igama** **gab** **(narau)** **me** **netinei**
narau **Ø** **igama** **me** **gab** **Ø** **me** **netinei**
narau **igama** **Ø** **gab** **Ø** **me** **netinei**
*betelnut not it-stay-OR not see-SR (betelnut) not I-can-give-you
'I can not give you betelnut because I don't have any.'

With respect to 78, the reading of 'there are betelnuts, but I can't give them to you' is very unlikely, if not impossible. Is it because the culture is such that it is just inconceivable that someone would have betelnut and not give it to someone who asks, either verbally or nonverbally?

The situation in 60 with its interpretation of 61 is still different from 77 and 78, in that the negative in 60 does not apply to the last verb which it directly precedes. The derivation 79, however, is the same as that given in 77 and 78.

79a. **ye** **iau** **me** **waramb** **isub** **nam** **somei**
I dog not hit-SR go-down-SR tree I-cut-FP

b. **ye** **iau** **waramb** **isub** **nam** **me** **suau**
I dog hit-SR go-down-SR tree NOT cutting
'I did not hit the dog and then go down and cut the tree.'

It is the primary, or even contrastive, stress on the negative in 79b that allows for the reading of 61: i.e., the clause with the negative is positive and the one that is positive is negated. Contrastive stress on the object of the final clause, **nam** 'tree', would have 80 as preferred interpretation, while the first reading of 77 and 78, namely, that the negative extends its scope over the preceding clauses, is unlikely, because the events of 79 do not seem to form an expectancy chain.

80. 'I hit the dog, went down (but) did not cut the tree.'

I do not claim to have solved all the complicated problems that negation in Papuan languages, as exemplified by Usan, poses. I hope to have shown that some kind of negative movement might be a

universal rule. In Germanic languages this rule seems to be used when speakers want to deny emphatically the conjunction of two statements. In some Papuan languages (Waskia, like Usan, spoken in the Madang Province, shows similar negation rules) the rule has a wider application, depending on semantic and pragmatic factors regarding the collocation of certain predicates.

The scope of negation can be unequivocally delimited by the syntactic process of subordination. Certain syntactic criteria, such as same or different subjects and objects, suggest particular preferred readings of coordinated clauses with a negative in one of them. But cultural, i.e., pragmatic, information is necessary for a correct interpretation of negative sentences. Being negative may be positive; being positive may be negative.

NOTES

1 Usan is a language spoken by approximately fourteen hundred people living on the southern slopes of the Adelbert Range, Madang Province, Papua New Guinea. It is listed as Wanuma, the largest village, by Z'graggen (1975), who classifies it as a member of the Numugenan family, Piham stock, of the Madang-Adelbert subphylum. Usan is a strictly verb-final language, supplying an example of Ross's (1973:413) category of maximally verb-final, or 'tight', languages, which do not even allow 'leaks' in the major word order. It is similar to other Papuan languages in that it coordinates clauses mainly by way of special verb morphology. Medial verbs do not normally end sentences. They are marked for same (SR) or different (DR) referent following. That is, medial verbs show whether the referent of the subject of the next clause will be identical or not to the one of the clause in which the verb occurs. This rule is far from complete, even incorrect in a number of cases, but it would require a separate paper to indicate the factors of agency, humanness, topicality, number, etc., that determine whether a verb is marked SR or DR.

2 Nominalized verbs consist of a stem + the suffix **-au**, yet 13a and 13b are not cases of negated nominalized verbs.

When an event is either near or far past tense, the morphological change in the verb, when it is negated, is the same as for nominalization. Negation in this case is existential: **ne** + Verb [= stem + **-au**], as in 13.

3 Sentence 29b is possible with a rather different meaning. Whereas 29a may be used while a party is still going on and 'he' might still be coming, 29b can only be used after the party is all over and the speaker, having left before the end, states his belief that 'he' has not come at all.

4 The purpose relation is pragmatically present, because (1) the agents of both clauses are referentially identical, and (2) the two propositions are in temporal sequence (cf. Litteral (1972:398), who discusses the semantic relation of purpose in Anggor). As a third characteristic Litteral assumes an underlying predicate corresponding to the verb 'want', whose time index is identical with that of the first event. As comparison of 36 and 37 shows, WANT is obligatorily

present (but I doubt whether it is required in an underlying syntactic structure) when the sentence has a generic, universal sense. It may or may not be there when the sentence is specific, i.e., refers to a specific agent acting at a specific time.

5 Usan is not unique in using embedding to express contraexpectation. Waskia (Ross and Paol 1978:16), spoken on Karkar Island, Madang Province, uses the same construction for the same purpose. This does not make such a structure an antithetical sentence, even though semantically, a coordinated sentence with 'but' is the best English equivalent.

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OUTLINE OF A PRACTICAL FRAME OF REFERENCE FOR A SOCIOLINGUISTIC ANALYSIS IN AN AFRICAN CONTEXT

Suzanne Lafage

The relatively recent interest in social patterns of language introduces a new dimension into linguistic research on African languages. It is no longer a matter of postulating the existence of completely homogeneous speech communities, each with its own uniform linguistic code. Rules of language can no longer be considered to be independent of the social context, nor variations in language to be deviations that are theoretically insignificant compared to the norm.

Sociolinguistics[1] calls upon every linguist specializing in African languages to exercise a multifaceted consideration of language, one that is simultaneously sociological, ethnological, economic, and political. This study can take place on a national scale (e.g., Ladefoged, Glick, Criper: Language in Uganda 1971), or at the level of a very restricted geographical area (e.g., Cooper and Carpentier: "Linguistic diversity in the Ethiopian market" 1969, or Johnson: "Stable triglossia at Larteh, Ghana" 1975). Until now, however, whether research has been on a macro- or microsociolinguistic level, researchers seem to have been primarily interested in the situation of multilingualism, a feature common to all Africa. To our knowledge, there are virtually no works, and certainly none in French, on the sociolinguistic analysis of native-speaker behavior within a given African linguistic community. Furthermore, ethnolinguistic works and articles about Africa are still relatively rare.

This article has, then, two purposes. First of all, we want to emphasize the usefulness of such research and its foundational nature for an adequate analysis of the linguistic behavior of an African speaker, both in the use of a local contact language and in the use of a non-African language of wider communication, such as French. Second, we would like to propose an outline for a pragmatic frame of reference for sociolinguistic research within a

particular African language. We also want to make clear that the purpose of this article is much more to draw up a set of questions than to construct a theory or to elaborate patterns applicable to every African speech community. We are basing our comments for now only upon preliminary surveys made in the field, though all the analysis of the data has not yet been finished.

Social Stratification

Beginning with the works of Labov (1966), the relationships between language varieties and social classes (defined as groups of individuals who have the same social and/or economic characteristics) have been amply demonstrated.

However, it is questionable whether the sociolinguistic patterns (Labov 1972), drawn up on the basis of an industrialized, developed, Western society, are directly transferable to the African context. Social stratification, i.e., the hierarchical order of groups in a given society, is based on values and criteria that vary according to cultures as much as according to existing socioeconomic conditions.

Thus sociologists find African contextual conditions so complex to study that "analysis of African societies has not yet shown any evidence to support the existence of a unified system of social differentiation" (Rivière 1975:305). Between pairs of opposing classes (if it is, in fact, possible to apply this term to social groups that hardly answer to the usual Marxist definition), such as managers/managed and exploiters/exploited, there are complex intermediate strata which interfere with other dichotomies by the interplay of their mutual relationships: traditional forces/modern forces, urban world/rural world. The strategies of expedient alliances between social categories are, in each nation, and even at the level of each region, as varied as they are variable, as shown in Table 1 taken from Diop (1971:227-28).

A schema of classes as a possible interpretation of the prevailing dynamics of the strata would be roughly the following:

A. Dominant class

1. ruling layer (those holding political power and top administrators of public affairs and industrial enterprises)

2. managers of the private sector or administrative intelligentsia
   -rich plantation owners[2]
   -merchants
   -Western middle class lifestyle
   -urbanized[2]

Table 1. Relationships between Traditional and Modern Forces in Four West African Countries

after M. Diop

A = Modern forces
C = Traditional forces
B, D, E = Expedient alliances, variable according to country.

Opposing Forces

In Mali

actual power
(C) { traditional tradesmen
reserve masses farmers } = traditional forces (B)

legal power
(A) { intelligentsia
working masses salespeople
office workers
laborers } = modern forces

In Ivory Coast

(D) { (C) { customary chiefs
farmers } } (B)
(A) { plantation owners
intelligentsia
salespeople and office workers
laborers }

In Senegal

(D) { (C) { religious chiefs
farmers } } (B)
(A) { Senegalese capitalists
intelligentsia } (B)
salespeople and office workers
laborers } (E)

In Guinea

traditional chiefs (nonexistent)
farmers } (B)
(A) { intelligentsia
salespeople and office workers
laborers

B. Middle class

3. tertiary sector: employees of government, public service, commercial and industrial enterprises: white collar workers
   -behavior, as of the "lower middle class without the sense of thrift" (Rivière)
   -urbanized, but still tied to the rural world and to certain traditional forces

4. laborers (still few in number)
   -not in danger of becoming poor since they receive a regular wage, which on the average is superior to that of the majority of the population
   -urbanized, but retaining some traditional values (cf. Gibbal 1974)

C. Urban proletariat

5. blue collar workers, illiterate workers, unemployed, various victims of the rural exodus
   -urbanized shantytown dwellers who are rebuilding the family and ethnic structures of the traditional world

D. Peasants

6. customary or religious chiefs
7. notables: farmers-landowners
8. artisans
   traditional merchants
9. farmers who do not own land

"In the traditional rural setting, stratification will be based on other criteria than in the urban setting" (Rivière 1975: 288).

Specifically, stratification will be based on the system of seniority in the family, on classes and lineages, even on social or religious castes, age classes, traditional Islamic hierarchies, etc. Inequalities must be seen much more in terms of prestige and power than in terms of the level of wealth attained.

To this socioeconomic schema must be added, it seems, a sociocultural schema in which the most obvious values are seen by looking at linguistic behavior. But even here the analysis is not simple, since one could observe with M. H. Abdulaziz-Mkilifi (1972), E. O. Apronti (1974), and Bruce Johnson (1973, 1975) that in a large portion of Africa a situation of triglossia is becoming more and more prevalent. In fact, just as Ferguson (1959) introduced the term diglossia to designate a linguistic situation characterized by a particular division of communicative functions between

a vernacular language and a superposed variety, both considered in the community as varieties of the same language, one could say that:

> triglossia refers to a type of language situation characterized by a similar division of communicative functions among three language varieties, the vernacular and two superposed varieties, one of which is an indigenous lingua franca and the other an introduced world language (Johnson 1975:93).

Thus in Ivory Coast, a Senoufo can use his mother tongue when speaking with his family, common Dioula in the market, and French for transactions with the government, assuming he is more or less educated.

The analysis is complicated by the fact that the imported language, in relation to the local languages, can be either (a) used for communication within one language group but not for communication between groups, or (b) not used for communication within one language group but used for communication between groups, depending on whether there does (a) or does not (b) exist in the region an African language suitable for interethnic communication.

Thus in a city such as Abidjan, it is not unusual to encounter individuals who use their mother tongue to speak with their family or others in their ethnic group, Dioula for transactions in the market, a more or less standardized variety of French for relating to the government, and a pidginized variety of French for communicating with an illiterate who does not belong to the same ethnic group.

But social categorization, particularly in an urban setting, seems to be based above all on evaluations of varieties of French according to the following schema.

1. Dominant class elite	——→	use of "central" French (academic norm)
2. Middle class educated	——→	use of a regional variety of French (implicit local norm)
3. Middle class little or no education	——→	occasional use of a pidginized dialect of French
4. Common people uneducated	——→	exclusive use of the ethnic language or of an African contact language

However, what will the situation be at the village level, where, except for young students, the majority of the population does not speak French? Will a difference really be perceived

between the French of the instructor and that of the old warrior? And if there is a difference, will it not be because of the remarks of some local, educated people? Cannot the prestige of the old warrior be more important than that of another man of the same age and rank in the traditional hierarchy if the latter does not speak French?

On the other hand, a certain use of the mother tongue as a prerogative of the village notables can be considered as a prestigious element among the more or less acculturated urban intelligentsia.

This same variability seems to exist at the level of use restrictions. A newly urbanized illiterate will translate into the pidginized French when he knows certain usage rules that pertain to communication in his mother tongue. Thus one of our language helpers refused to tell a folktale from his ethnic group because c'est pas nuit 'it's not nighttime'.

Then again, if we believe what students tell us, they are criticized in the village because "they don't know how to speak well." This value judgment is made because of certain "White-style" deviations in their behavior: not observing the hierarchical distance appropriate to the social rank of their interlocutor; abrupt affirmation of a fact (as one would do in French) where it would be appropriate to use the allusive neutrality of an image-symbol known by all; and not differentiating between the use of certain types of proverbs (reserved for elders) and sayings (suitable for a young person with little experience).

As we have previously stated, there is a great dearth of sociolinguistic information on systematic variations of discourse in an African language. Most synchronic descriptions, so to speak, strip the language of its social context.

This is why we have thought it essential to attempt a series of preliminary surveys, which aim for a sociolinguistic analysis of monolingual communication among native speakers of an African language. It seems reasonable that this knowledge will allow us to sharpen our macrosociolinguistic observations and better to understand behavior in a European second language, especially in pidginized varieties of French.

Several surveys of languages of Ivory Coast are in progress: Senoufo of Korhogo (P. Coulibaly), Baôulê, Kodê dialect (J. Thymian-Ravenhili), Dioula of Kong (M. J. Derive), Koyo of Fresco (P. Kokora), Bêtê of Daloa (Zogro), and Ewe of the fishermen of Vridi (S. Lafage). The purposes of these surveys are to determine "who speaks what language to whom and when" (Fishman 1965), to determine which criteria speakers use to judge whether a member of their community "speaks well" or "speaks poorly", to observe the traits that are considered significant to acculturated behavior,

etc.... It is on the basis of the first results obtained there that we have attempted our outline of a practical frame of reference for variables of communication and a typological approach to discourse. Participation in this survey of all the fieldworkers of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) working in Ivory Coast, Togo, and Upper Volta will make possible future verification of this frame of reference in a large number of languages in the Kwa, Kru, Gur, and Manda groups, and the differentiation, if such should prove necessary, of the initial findings according to the cultural models of each of these areas.

Communication Situations

By communication situations we mean a set of extralinguistic elements which, subjectively interpreted by each participant on the basis of notions common to the group of native speakers, determines the form the communication is to adopt. It is evident, of course, that the number of communication situations is impossible to count since the interpretations by the participants (the number of which also varies indefinitely) change from one time to another.

Certainly the most important factor in the communication situation is the human element, i.e., the participants. It is this factor we shall consider first.

Communication mode

Under this heading we place the following variables:

-number of participants
-behavior of participants, which may be active, passive, or active and passive in turn
-speech monopolized or not monopolized by one participant
-channel of communication[3]
-presence or absence of participant(s)

The situation, therefore, is described from the viewpoint of the speaker and of the addressee(s), when necessary. In Table 2, 1 and x symbolize one individual and several individuals, respectively, in the category concerned, with x also representing a variable number greater than one.

Table 2. Participant Roles in Communication Situations

MC	Speaker	Addressee	Example
MC1a	1 present and active (monopolizes speech) →	x absent and passive	announcer of a radio broadcast in a local language
MC1b	1 absent and active (monopolizes speech) →	x present and passive	listeners to this broadcast
MC2a	1 present and active →	1 absent and passive	telephone conversation
MC2b	1 absent and passive ←	1 present and active	(speakers take turns)
MC3a	1 present and active (monopolizes speech) →	x present and passive	griot, priest delivering a sermon
MC3b	1 present and active (monopolizes speech) ↔	x present and passive	congregation
MC4a	1 present and active ↔	x present; active sporadically and according to ritual	storyteller encouraged ritually by the audience
MC4b	1 present and active ↔	x present; active sporadically and according to ritual	audience intervenes ritually in the narration
MC5a	1 present and active but does not have exclusive monopoly of speech ↔	x present and passive but allowed to ask questions	speaker who recites or gives a report, but who also may be questioned by audience

	Speaker	Addressee	Example
MC5b	1 ⟷ present and active but does not have exclusive monopoly of speech	x present and, as a group, passive, but interrupting in turn to ask questions, if they wish	audience whose members have the right to ask questions of the speaker
MC6	x present S ⇄ spokesman ⇄ A Formal situation in which the dialogue organized in terms of social hierarchy is mediated by the official "spokesman" even though the participants are actually present		traditional ceremony a) the chief speaks b) the spokesman delivers the message to the public c) response of 1 or x participants d) the spokesman carries the response to the chief
MC7	2 ⟷ present Each of 2 participants is in turn speaker and addressee (no monopoly of speech) 1 present and active → 1 present and passive 1 present and passive ← 1 present and active		face-to-face dialogue
MC8	x ⟷ present Each of the participants can take a turn speaking when he wishes		conversation or debate with several participants

Identity of participants (IP)

In traditional society, the identity of the participants seems extremely important, whatever the topic of the communication may be, and whether it is formal (constrained) or informal. The parameters to be taken into account are:

IP 1 Age. The stratification of society into a hierarchy of age classes, where seniority has predominance, does not give each individual an equal right in communication. Such equality, apparently, can be exercised only between individuals belonging to the same age class (except when the parameters below intervene).

IP 2 Sex. Social roles are divided according to sex. Behavior of men and women is not identical. In certain communication situations, the woman is not allowed to interrupt. Prohibitions and taboos are not always the same for each sex. Whatever her age, a female must speak respectfully to a male. For example, in Ewe country, a mother must not insult her son by calling him a **kãblĩ** 'monkey' when he does something foolish, even when he is very young.

IP 3 Social rank. Social rank has a very great influence on communication. The customary authority (chief) and the religious authority (priest, fetish priest, marabout, imam, hadji, etc.) possess a different social identity from that of the chief of a clan or lineage. These last authorities enjoy a different status from that of heads of families, who themselves are hierarchically superior to the other members of the community divided into classes according to age and sex.

IP 4 Profession. In traditional African society, profession was taken into consideration only with respect to caste (where hierarchical order can vary from one culture to another): the chief, the sorcerer, the fetish priest, the warrior, the hunter, the farmer, the griot (at varying status), the blacksmith (often feared), etc. But only a few professions seemed hereditary and socially unattainable (the shaman, the blacksmith, the chief, the griot,...). Today traditional forces are weakening and modern ones are introducing new castes into the village. It is more prestigious to be a white collar worker than to be a manual laborer or to be educated than to be illiterate, and the politician is in a class above the civil servant. The rich plantation owner, because of his wealth, can be placed at the top of the rural social hierarchy. It is these social categories, rather than professions, strictly speaking, that are ranked in terms of power and money, and consequently prestige.

IP 5 Kinship relationships. Within the extended family, there is a hierarchy of relationships from the head of the family, who directs the community, to sons, who are fathers of families themselves (by order of their birth), to wives, and to children. But

these hierarchies can conflict with other family relationships. Thus communication between grandparents and grandchildren is often more familiar than that between a father and his children. In regard to joking relationships, we must take into account the differences that can result from the ethnic group's being patriarchal or matriarchal, for example in the relationships between a maternal uncle or paternal uncle with a nephew, or the relationship of a father with his children. In the same way, for a correct analysis of behavior we must take into consideration whether the family is patrilocal or matrilocal.

Authority relationships between participants (AuR.)

In light of the above factors, authority relationships are extremely complex and predictably variable according to the specific cultural details of the ethnic group in question. However, what all ethnic groups appear to have in common is that all communication relationships are hierarchical and exert a strong constraining force. It is for this reason that communication situations are formal much more frequently than in a Western context. Very strict rules of etiquette are part of the earliest training a child receives after he has been weaned, from about three years of age. The nuances among which a speaker must make a choice (sometimes difficult for a nonnative observer to grasp) can be roughly summarized by distinguishing three types of authority relationships:

AuR1 superior to inferior
AuR2 equal to equal
AuR3 inferior to superior

But it is important to keep in mind that all the parameters must be taken into consideration and that the time and place of communication reinforce or weaken, or even override, the authority relationships (e.g., drinking games in certain ethnic groups).

Acquaintance relationship between participants (AcR)

Social relationships differ depending on whether the speaker is addressing:

AcR1 close friends (this can overturn the usual authority relationships): ties, for example, which exist between initiation brothers or sworn friends who have made the blood pact (Togo-Bénin)

AcR2 mere acquaintances (apply the AuR)

AcR3 complete strangers. Behavior toward a foreigner in the village or the region is stereotyped.

Gestures of participants (GP)

Here also the situation is complex. A gesture can contradict what is spoken. For each formal situation there is a corresponding set of appropriate gestures, in use of which one must take into consideration the identity of the participants, the authority relationships, and the acquaintance relationships. Therefore a gesture may be proper or improper: even if a child responds respectfully to an adult who has asked him a question, he must not look him directly in the eye. A Senoufo woman crouches to greet a man or to answer her husband. Both hands are extended to receive a gift, etc.

Any other behavior from a member of the community is considered a serious breach of manners, even if the accompanying words are appropriate. Such behavior can bring about an unforeseen change in the attitude of the addressee, who feels insulted.

Place of communication (PC)

The place of communication (PC) seems to impose weaker constraints in a rural setting than in an urban setting. Nevertheless, it can conflict with sex, age, and social rank. We are lacking information in this area. For now, it seems possible to distinguish:

PC1 at home
PC2 at another's home
PC3 in the street or on the path
PC4 in the market
PC5 in a shop
PC6 in a government building
PC7 in a sacred place
PC8 in the public square, under the 'palaver tree'...

Time of communication (TC)

In a rural setting, the time when a communication takes place imposes heavy constraints. Village life follows the sun and the seasons. There is, thus, a well-defined division of the day into time for work, for meals, for 'palaver', for leisure and relaxation, and for sleeping.

The topic of communication is, therefore, often determined by the time of day when it occurs. In any case, the topic also determines the choice of the time a conversation will take place. Thus a story is told only at nightfall, after the evening meal. The exchange of gossip between women takes place when there is collective work: e.g., fetching water or washing laundry at the river. Some songs are characteristic of certain group work projects and are inconceivable at other times. There are times when invectives, jokes, and even insults are permitted, and when

they serve as contests in eloquence in which no one could take offence at what is said. In other circumstances, these same words would cause a scene.

At the present state of our survey it would seem we can distinguish the following times of communication:

TC 1 early morning (5-7 a.m.) for taking care of daily chores
TC 2 individual worktime
TC 3 collective worktime
TC 4 rest time, which breaks up periods of work
TC 5 after work, time of collective discussions (in the village square, under the 'apatam' or 'palaver tree')
TC 6 evening meal
TC 7 leisure time: evening
TC 8 night: time for affairs of state (between 2 and 5 a.m.), sorcery, secret transactions
TC 9 clan or family holidays (including funerals)
TC10 general holidays
TC11 lucky and unlucky days (for example, those chosen for judiciary business among the Baoulé)

Communication and Discourse Types

Discourse is extremely complex, and it is not easy to attempt a typology that will have any claim to objectivity. We have adopted a functionalist approach, which seemed to have the fewest drawbacks of the various classifications considered. This does not mean that we are completely satisfied with it.

We make, then, the following broad distinctions:

1. Discourse of social relationships, which is hierarchically ordered, conventional, and narrowly constrained:
   a. salutations (arrival, departure, meeting, return from a trip, etc.)
   b. apologies (both before and after the fact)
   c. thanks and responses to thanks
   d. ritual speech with religious or magical implication (petitions, prayers, congratulations, condolences, introductory remarks, etc.)

Every ethnologist has observed the importance of verbal ritual and of ceremony in social relationships in traditional African communities.

2. Esthetic discourse, which bears the poetic function of language, in the sense of Jakobson (1970), and is found in traditional culture in well-defined genres:

a. the song, which may be:
   -light (amusement, love, etc.)
   -about war
   -historical
   -about competition or conflict
   -a dirge
   -ritual (initiation, ceremony)
   -religious

(cf. Agblemagnon, 1969)

b. the story, which begins and ends with a formula and in which are mixed songs, remarks, and collective responses from the audience. It can also, like the following genres, take on a didactic function.

c. the fable, shorter and more concrete

d. the riddle and the enigma

e. proverbs and sayings, specifically that which, following Cauvin (1976a, 1976b), we can call 'imaging' thought. A proverb is answered by a counterproverb, refuting the first in a contest of eloquence. Or the response can be a second saying that clarifies the meaning of the first one.

This type of discourse is as restricted in its content as it is in its form. The content allows only known images without alteration or coining of new ones. The form allows only certain grammatical structures.

In addition to these two discourse types it seems there must be another type with fewer constraints. But we are not yet able to distinguish possible subcategories. Certain stylistic features would suggest a possible dichotomy between:

1. discourse centered on the speaker where he attempts above all to express himself:

   a. by placing himself in relation to events, facts, or people
   b. by asserting himself, his opinions or feelings, in relation to events, facts, people, or ideas
   c. by showing himself to advantage with narrations that fill out the meaning of an action, fact, or event

2. discourse centered on the addressee, where by means of persuasion, argumentation, information, or explanation, the speaker tries to influence another. It would seem then that he adapts the form of his discourse not only to the communication situation but also to the goal he is pursuing and to the kind of influence he wants to exert on the partici-

pant(s). In some ways, this type of discourse would be more formal than the preceding one and would tend to approximate esthetic discourse.

We have not come to any conclusion concerning the phatic function of language in an African context. Does one talk for the sake of talking? To fill up the silence? The greatest care must be taken here, because only a native speaker can distinguish what is 'ritual' and what is 'social intercourse' in the phatic function of language. Value judgments are too delicate to be made by an outsider to the culture and society under study. However that may be, we do know that some topics that serve to keep French phatic discourse continuing would be considered 'ridiculous' in a traditional African context. 'We don't talk just to say that,' a language helper told us peremptorily. And, in effect, literally to 'talk about the weather' is hardly conceivable in a rural setting. It is either useful information concerning farming, in which case it is discussed in great detail, or it is not a topic of conversation at all. It is true that silence in an African society does not have the negative function that it exercises in European social relations. During a meeting, no one has to ramble on just because it would be impolite to be silent. Quite the opposite, silence is something positive. A child or an adolescent is severely reprimanded if he opens his mouth when no one has given him permission to speak by addressing him with a question. Silence appears as a mark of politeness and respect for others. The spoken word is sacred, and an adult who uses it thoughtlessly loses face.

We are aware of all the gaps in this brief outline. But it seems worthwhile to us to bring together some observations, which constitute a sort of plea for sociolinguistic research from within an African language. As an anthropologist, Ben G. Blount (1972:90) wrote:

> In societal descriptions, religion, kinship, economics and similar topics have their place and importance, but characterizations regarding daily life, how people interact socially on a day-to-day basis and how they view themselves in relation to one another and their society, are more readily forthcoming if one looks at their sociolinguistic systems.

NOTES

1 Cf. Fishman (1972:4) "Sociolinguistics is the study of the characteristics of language varieties, the characteristics of their functions and the characteristics of their speakers as these three constantly interact, change and change one another within a speech community."

2 "The large plantation owners of the rural zones are often descended from the chieftainry or are former merchants or government workers, and possess capital. They derive their wealth solely from their economic ties with the city, where decisions are made, products are distributed and replacement parts are sold" (Rivière 1975:299).

3 In the traditional African context communication channels are particularly restricted: voice transmitted directly or indirectly (telephone), tomtom, gesture, and fixed or animated image (television). Writing is rarely used for the transmission of a message in an African language.

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SOCIAL CONTEXT AND MAMPRULI GREETINGS

Anthony Naden

0 Introduction

In former presentations (Naden 1974, 1980) I have tried to present some analyses of turn taking and interactional structure in the greetings litanies of certain West African languages and cultures. To this end I made use of a flowchart formalism to show how various parameters of the linguistic and nonlinguistic context need to be taken into account to determine who speaks and what he says, yielding in some sense a simplified model of what the actual "member" (in the ethnomethodologists' sense) needs to take into consideration in order to function appropriately in these contexts.

In this paper* I attempt to describe some of the detail on the social side of the inputs, which was necessarily omitted for the sake of brevity in the discussions cited above. Of particular note are what one might call the entry conditions for **greeting**--how the sociolinguistic nexus that constitutes greeting is established and begins to operate--the paralinguistic features of proxemic and kinesic accompaniment to the spoken greetings, and the way in which the greetings litany may function as an integral structural part of a larger unit of interaction. Also, in view of the way in which correct greeting behavior depends on certain pieces of factual knowledge about the interlocutor, it is necessary to consider what happens in cases where this presupposed information is unknown or not correctly understood.

The present account is based on data from the Mampruli language and the culture of the Mamprusi people. The Mamprusi (own name **Nnampursi**: sg. **Nnampurga**) number about eighty thousand; and their homeland is in the northeastern part of the northern region of Ghana, an area about 150 kilometers from east (Nakpanduri at long. 0°12' W) to west (Tantali at long. 1°33' W) and 40 kilometers from north to south (lat. 10°35' to 10°1' N). The Mampruli language

* This paper has been improved through some helpful comments by Talmy Givón, for which my thanks.

(**Naampurli**; also called Mamprule or Mampelle) belongs to the western division of the Oti/Volta subgroup of the Gur, or Voltaic, group of the Niger-Congo family (Manessy 1975), and it is closely related to Talni, Kusaal, Hanga, and Dagbani.

1 Mampruli and the Mamprusi

1.1 Economy

The Mamprusi are basically subsistence farmers, growing mainly cereals (millet, sorghum, maize) and some vegetables, and raising poultry for their own consumption, while oilseeds (groundnuts, sheanuts), cotton, and livestock (cattle, sheep, goats) are their main cash-earning produce. The savanna area where they live has for climate a rainy season from May to October, with the rest of the year being absolutely dry. During the rains is the time for intense activity on the farms, whereas the main work of the dry season is the building and repair of houses and the maintenance of social links by visiting, gift giving, and the holding of funeral celebrations for adults who have died and been interred at some previous time.

1.2 History

In precolonial times the Mamprusi Empire, strongly centralized under its paramount chief, the Nayiri (Drucker-Brown [1975] calls the Nayiri a king), maintained a considerable measure of stability and security against the rival African states and marauding slave raiders of the period, and it held a degree of suzerainty over a number of neighboring groups. The population density of Mamprugu (the territory of the Mamprusi) is much less than that of the areas immediately to the north, and substantial groups of neighboring peoples have been allowed to settle in colonies (see Naden 1973:13) in parts of the area (notably Tampulmas, Frafras, Kasena, and Bisa: some figures may be seen in Drucker-Brown 1975:22). The major center for the British colonial administration of the Northern Territories, now called the Northern and Upper Regions of Ghana, was at Gambaga in Mamprusi territory, just five miles from the capital of the Nayiri at Nalerigu.

1.3 Religion

The traditional religion features intermittent consultation of diviners, usually leading to a recommendation to sacrifice to an ancestor, mostly only when unexpected or persistent misfortune is experienced. This traditional complex in most cases has an overlay of Islamic features, falling short of full orthodox Muslim practice.

The general culture of the Mamprusi is, in short, similar to that of their neighbors throughout the region, though in detail even close neighbors are found to differ (see discussion in sec. 4.6).

1.4 Language

The Mampruli language is similar to that of most of its neighbors. It is, however, almost totally unrelated to Bisa, which belongs to the Mande family and is considered, in a recent study, to be a family separate from Niger-Congo (Mukarovsky 1977). This view may be overstated, but it points at least to the peripheral status of the Mandaic languages. In the case of Bisa there are, nevertheless, some superficial similarities to Mampruli, as the group has for some time been isolated from the rest of the Mande group and has been living in a homeland largely surrounded by the very large Mamprusi-related Mossi group in Upper Volta.

In greetings it is noticeable that, whereas most Bisa greetings conform to the normal clause structure of the language, Mampruli has a number of patterns that are partially or wholly restricted to use in greetings. Particularly striking is the prevalence of verbless clauses in Mampruli greetings. In contrast to Bisa, which has no copular verb and uses nonverbal structures for a variety of identificational, descriptive, and classificatory predications (Naden 1970:106ff.), there are very few normal Mampruli clauses without a verb form. In Mampruli greetings, however, verbs are rarely found, and a number of utterances are purely nominal with no overt predicator.

Dasuba. I gyaari. I Tamsale dima. Ti maasim.
morning your welcome your Tamale people our coolness
Ti daba ayi.
our two days

In other cases the greeting utterance consists of a nominal form with a preposed particle, **ni**:

Ni i tuma. Ni ya goorim.
(part.) your(sg) works (part.) your(pl) journeying

No comparable structure occurs as a whole predication in nongreeting utterances, though the **ni** may be identifiable with the coordinating/comitative particle:

Man ni m ba kyanni. 'I and my father went.'
Soya pobri ni koom. '(The) paths are running with water.'

The only common formulas with a verbal element have the adverbial interrogative **wula?** 'how?':

I ba bɛ wula?
your father exist how?
'How's your father?'

I da kpalim wula?
you today stay how?
'How was your today's stay?'

Most Mampruli initiatory greetings have a correlative answer, which is the normal response; the interjection **Naa!**, however, is the appropriate answer to all greetings except one (see sec. 5.3). Most greetings may also receive the response **Alaafɛ!** 'health' (from Arabic via Hausa). Pairing of greeting and answer is further discussed below (see sec. 4.3).

2 Meeting and greeting

2.1 Purpose of greeting

There are three basic social purposes that may underlie instances of greeting:

2.1.1 Cement social relations. The most formal and specific purpose is that in which a greeting is planned and sought as a means of cementing social relationships. The questions "What are you doing?" or "Where are you going?" may validly be answered with "I am going to greet the chief (my mother-in-law/the Nayiri/ ...)." Particularly for those in subordinate social relationships, periodic visits to pay one's respects are required of a dutiful, well-behaved member of society: the other side of the coin is that subordinates who are known to be dutiful and well behaved are more likely to be favorably considered when benefits are being offered. These benefits might involve the senior, as chief or elder, supporting his client in a dispute or in an attempt to win some office, or as father-in-law urging his daughter not to leave the client (her husband); or they may be simply material gifts. Visits in order to greet may lead on to general conversation, but in some cases it may be in order--or indeed required--merely to approach, greet, sit in the background for a while, and depart.

2.1.2 Open way for business. Greeting may also be a prelude to business. If you meet somebody and wish to converse, for gossip, other purely social purpose, or else for some more businesslike purpose, then you will start with a greeting. Particularly if you are seeking a favor, your greeting will be lengthy and effusive: thus, "I have come to greet you" often carries the spoken or unspoken rider, "... and ask you to/for ...." Even stronger leverage is exerted by first saying, "I have come to greet you and give you this present," and then, "I beg you to/for ...." The second part of this routine can follow in the same breath, in the middle of a subsequent conversation, or on a separate visit the next day.

2.1.3 Relate casually upon meeting. Lastly, there is casual greeting. Wherever possible one should greet anyone upon meeting him. **Meeting** is defined on a scale of saliency (I owe the use of this term to Talmy Givón: private communication) within which we can identify three major components: the relationships of the (potential) interactants, their separation in terms of distance and

intervening obstructions, and the rating of the place of encounter as one or the other's home ground or as neutral territory:

(1) Personal relationships. These are ranked on the scale of kin, friend, fellow townsman, acquaintance, and other.

(2) Clear range. The possibility of potential interactants being so separated that they are not considered to be meeting is a product of range as sheer physical distance, and the clearness of the intervening space of obstructions, physical or social, which would submerge the persons under consideration from appearing as a functional dyad.

(3) Neutral space. The large, cosmopolitan markets of Nalerigu, Walewale, and Langbinsi are sufficiently public places that no one has the duty of welcoming strangers encountered there. On particularly busy occasions the lorry parks (transport stations) of the two former places and the main north-south road through Walewale may be treated similarly. However, at a crowded function (court hearing, shopping queue, or ceremonial dance) even those present only as spectators are brought sufficiently into relationship to be expected to greet wherever clear range permits.

In the operation of these factors of saliency, the personal relationship hierarchy makes it obligatory to greet anyone who is related, unless clear-range features prohibit it. **Strangers** (see note 5) must be welcomed if one is on one's home ground, but need not be greeted in neutral space. In the bush (including lonely stretches of highway between settlements) clear range extends to the limits of perception, and one should greet anyone within hailing distance, and beyond that, wave to anyone in sight. I do not have sufficient data to be precise on clear range in more crowded spaces. It is certainly not forbidden to greet across intervening persons if the latter are either lower on the relationship or status (sec. 2.2.2) hierarchies than the person addressed or, if higher, have already been greeted. While conversations may be held between persons separated by a barrier to sight, greetings are not normally offered to those concealed from view. An opening greeting and vocative may be called in order to establish whether a person is in the room or behind the wall or whatever the obstruction is, and if someone is there, he will peer over, come around, or otherwise establish sight lines, and then the greeting will be commenced from the beginning. It is in middle distance situations where there are several independent scenes and spaces within reasonable range, around twenty-five meters, that further observation is needed in order to confirm or disprove my intuition that there is no resultant rule: neither greeting nor nongreeting would be stigmatized.

Salience of a dyad must also take into account the ratio between the interactants' mutual relationship and their respective links to the society of the place of encounter. For instance,

people from the same province or subarea would greet one another as related persons if they met at the paramount town, Nalerigu, as would any fellow Mamprusi meeting outside the Mamprusi area. This sort of breadth-of-focus adjustment is probably more or less universal. It is violated by the traditional stereotype of the Englishmen on the desert island who would not speak because they had not been introduced, a situation therefore considered to be humorous. A comparable gestalt pattern is involved in specification of place (Schegloff 1971) and many other such structures, and is related by Cruse (1977) to the Gricean maxim of quantity and the cooperative principle in general.

The few other cases where greeting does not take place are detailed in section 2.3.2.

Thus, it is relevant to note which of the interlocutors is at home and which is visiting, or whether they are both traveling and their paths cross. The person at home may be literally in or around his house; he may be on his farm busy at a waterhole or cutting wood; or he may be sitting selling in the marketplace.

2.2 Relations of interlocutors

In order for the greeting situation to be properly established, it is necessary to consider several relations between potential interlocutors, some of the choices being rather in the nature of a cline than a set of alternatives.

2.2.1 Relationship. Members of one's own household are too close to receive effusive greetings except after a long separation or if met in some location far from home. The same applies to alters from ego's own village, although they are greeted more fully if they are kindred or friends. People from elsewhere are honored and welcomed if they visit ego's house or village, and even more so if they are also friends or kin. On the other hand, if they are total strangers and are encountered in public places, they are more likely to receive only a minimum greeting, if any.

2.2.2 Status. Status involves two major variables, age and office, with secondary consideration being given to other personal characteristics and kinship relations.

(1) Age. Age is to be considered primarily in chronological terms, though within a kinship framework seniority belongs to a member of a line whose linking relative was the elder, and this may be described by members simply in terms of age. Thus, a young boy may be said to be senior brother to an elderly chief because the boy's grandfather was genealogically the elder brother of the chief's grandfather. In general, however, the older the person, the higher the status.

(2) Office. What I am calling **office** (for a comparable, though not identical, use of the term and further anthropological details, see Drucker-Brown 1975: chap. 3) refers to any hierarchically ordered statuses which may be inherited or acquired by an individual, including, in the case of a woman, those reflecting the status of her male guardian.[1] The chief's wife or daughter, for instance, is more important than a commoner's.

There are a number of types of office conveying status, of which the most important and basic is the hierarchy headed by the paramount chief and his elders and the important provincial chiefs, and represented in the village by the village chief who may also have certain elders with named functions. Within the village the chief and named elders are followed in precedence by the male heads of the households that compose the village, amongst whom kinsmen of the chief and members of other chiefly lines (Mampruli 'gates') may have some preeminence.

The offices of 'sexton'[2] and 'diviner'[3] are sought by the candidates themselves by approaching an existing diviner, though the latter may sometimes initiate the process: for instance, if consulted on a question like "Why do all my business enterprises fail?" he may hand down the answer, "Because the ancestors want you (or your son/brother ...) to become a diviner." Magic medicine (either in the form of ownership of a particular type of shrine or other powerful object[4] or in the form of generalized knowledge or power to discuss and prepare such medicines for others) may be sought in a similar way by consulting, and paying the fees required by, an existing expert.

There are also parallel hierarchies in the modern sphere. Police, soldiers, teachers, medical personnel, church ministers, and national and local government officers have status as such, and each department has its own hierarchy of rank.

Finally, there is a Muslim hierarchy. Most Mamprusi follow some Muslim practices, but only a small minority are orthodox, even by the local standards. Amongst Muslims the **alhajji** has the first place, followed by various individual scholars (**alfa** or **affa** from Arabic **(mu)'allif** 'author, book' perhaps via Songhai) and teachers (**karimba** 'father of reading'), the village **Lumaam**, **imam** of congregational performances of the Muslim prayers, and then the ordinary orthodox.

(3) Other personal prestige factors. Prosperity and wisdom are other personal prestige factors that may contribute to status. Prosperity includes both wealth--liquid material assets--and headship of a large and flourishing household. A related element is having a large following: a prosperous man may attract a number of clients and junior kindred from outside his own household who

receive practical benefits and reflected honor from their patron and whose support in turn bolsters his status.

A householder is expected to be able to rule his compound in peace and harmony, and the same is expected of the chief in his village. As they have no direct powers of coercion, this means that the sort of success that commands respect and so contributes to status requires wisdom and tact in dealing with business and personal relations (see Naden forthcoming: secs. 2.5 and 3.2). One aspect of this effectual wisdom is the ability to speak well, which even in a junior person may bestow popularity and, thus, some measure of status above one's peers (Naden 1983a).

(4) Kinship relations. The relative status of a particular dyad of members of the society is also influenced by their kinship links. A senior kinsman is given extra respect irrespective of ego's own status. Particular deference is shown to one's own father and mother and one's wife's parents. In the case of grandparents and some same-generation in-laws the respect is mitigated by the conventions of joking relationships (Drucker-Brown 1982). Kinship relationships are discussed in more detail in Naden 1976: part 2. Particularly relevant in this connection is his discussion of authority and respect (Naden 1976:37ff.).

In general, however, according to a Mampruli saying, a son does not rise above his father: he does not become a paramount chief unless his father was one, nor a village chief unless his father has held a chieftainship. A son does not usually set up a separate household near his father's in the latter's lifetime, and if he has one in a more distant location, he will visit his father, rather than the other way around, so that the father's kinship authority is not brought into conflict with the son's headship in his own house. Thus, the kinship dimension usually reinforces, rather than confuses, the other traditional hierarchies.

2.2.3 Priorities amongst criteria. The question arises as to how these different criteria for status are intercalibrated into a protocol to determine the relative importance of any pair of interactants. The first answer is that they are not: it is not possible to state that the status of, for example, a wise but poor young chief is always greater or less than that of an elderly local council officer who is also a qualified soothsayer. This fact arises from aspects of the basic values stance of the Mamprusi culture.

Some societies have an egalitarian mold in which many of the above criteria would be largely irrelevant: it is an oversimplification but not a total distortion to say that in America you can greet anyone with "Hi! (whether, however, one could say, "Hi, Mr. President, Sir!", "Hi, Ron!", or "Hi, ugly!" would need more careful attention; see, e.g., Ervin-Tripp 1969, 1972; Jonz 1975). This

is borne out in my own experience (see Naden 1980:141). Other cultures are known for a strictly stratified system where some basic grammatical choices may depend on categorical specification of the absolute and relative status levels of the interactants. Two well-known examples are Japanese (see, e.g., Voegelin et al. 1977 and Prindle 1981) and Javanese (see Geerts 1960 and Tanner 1967). Mampruli does not fall into either of these polar categories.

At first sight, from a Western viewpoint, hierarchical status differences seem to be given considerable weight in social intercourse: substantial deference is shown, in both formal etiquette and real submission, to a chief, an elder, or a paterfamilias. A more detailed analysis, however, shows that none of the ingredients of status described above outranks the others in such a way that, for instance, a poor, stupid, incoherent man will, nevertheless, always be obeyed if he is a chief, nor will the possessor of important information be refused the right to speak because he is a minor, or she is a woman. This accords with the general value orientation of the society, which is basically five or six points on a seven-point scale towards the absolutist and crisis/declarative as opposed to the situational and interrogative in behavioral control (Mayers 1978), rather than being placed at the polar extreme: rules should normally be obeyed, but not when obedience would cause more trouble than it is worth, or when following the letter of the law would violate the spirit. A simple example is that while the Mamprusi share the well-nigh universal prohibition of the use of the left hand for eating and social purposes, if a person's right hand is dirty, badly damaged, or missing, he may where necessary use the left--in contrast with absolutist societies where he would have to walk two miles for water to wash his right hand before greeting someone, or have someone feed him all the while his right hand is bandaged. The comparable balancing of the various criteria of wealth, age, ancestry, and wisdom in the selection of a chief is described by Drucker-Brown (1975:103ff.), and the contributory but not overriding role of fluent speech in popularity and respect is analysed in Naden 1983a. A further example of this flexibility in the specific area of greetings management is mentioned below at the beginning of section 6.

In this way precedence due to age, office, or kinship links can be diluted by inadequacies in the other dimensions. Where old age brings senility, the elder is given a token deference. He or she is punctiliously visited and given greetings, but is otherwise ignored or even abused or spoken of slightingly in his or her presence. Similarly, a chief cannot be removed from office as a result of handicaps developed after installation, but where a chief is in his dotage or becomes blind or deaf he becomes almost a ritual object whose physical presence is necessary while some kinsman conducts the actual affairs of the village. Conversely,

prosperity, consistent good sense, skill at speaking, and similar traits can earn someone a higher place on the ladder of precedence than his age and office may warrant.

2.2.4 Pride of place. Having recognized this noncrisis stance of Mamprusi society, however, it must of course be realized that there has to be some way of deciding order of precedence in a group of interactants, especially (for the topic under focus in this discussion) since the opening of greeting depends on a criterion of status (see sec. 2.3 and fig. 2). The primary factor in the resolution of noncongruent status systems is the principle that relative status in an actual situation depends to a considerable extent on the locus of the encounter. A person's statuses carry their fullest weight when he is on his home ground: the importance of a chief in his court, a woman in her yard (section of the compound house), or a head teacher in his school is very different from that of the same people in the streets of Tamale, the regional capital, outside Mamprusi territory.

The primary principle of the traditional hierarchy is that every chief is paramount in his own hall--the distinctive chiefly reception room with two doors, one to the outside, or outer yard, and one into the inner part of the house (all other rooms have a single door, facing inwards). He loses little or nothing of his preeminence as he moves out to other parts of his house, into his village, and through the perhaps quite extensive farmland and bush area under his jurisdiction but beyond the bounds of the settlement. A visiting chief yields pride of place to the host chief, even if the visitor is much the superior in wealth, wisdom, age, and aristocratic origins. The paramount chief of all the Mamprusi, the Nayiri, with his senior court elders and the four provincial overlords, outranks the village chiefs in the intrinsic hierarchy of office. (Drucker-Brown (1975:78ff.; chap. 4, pp. 1-5) deals with these offices, but she calls the Nayiri king and the provincials paramounts, which departs from the usual sense of paramount chief as used in Ghana.) When visiting these superiors, even the most substantial village chiefs accord them extreme deference. Even they, however, do not contest the authority of a village chief in his own domain. This is probably yet another reason why the Nayiri plays such an immobile and passive role (Drucker-Brown 1975:160-66)--if other chiefs come to him, his own office, added to his being on home ground, gives him absolute superiority. If he were to enter another chief's domain, there would be a tension between his intrinsic paramountcy and that of the village chief in his own village. This is the same principle as we have seen operating in father-son relationships. Similarly, envoys from hierarchically superordinate personages yield precedence when visiting other chiefs.

In the chief's presence, especially in formal session, the chief is followed in order of precedence by his titled elders (the exact number and titles vary from village to village), and then by the householders in order of age, although prosperity, personality, close kinship to the chief, and other factors may, as we have seen, give greater prestige to a younger man. When joining a session, one first receives the chief's greeting; then he greets the others in this order. This hierarchy also applies in public spaces around the village, but in a house (that is, including the seating places beside and in front of the gate, as well as those inside the compound) the householder is supreme over all but the village chief. After the householder come any adult sons or younger brothers who may head their own subsections of the compound, then other males in order of age.

The women's system of statuses is fairly independent. The head woman of the compound, usually the householder's senior wife, is supreme on the women's side. She is followed by his other wives in the order in which they joined the household, then wives of the other men in the order of these men's precedence. Once again, within her own yard, or room (sleeping room and adjacent suite, which may include cooking corner, bathroom enclosure, and subcourtyard) a woman is given deferential treatment: she usually retires to the room or just in front of its door to receive any noncasual greeting. After male visitors have greeted the chief, elder, or other householder, they go around the rooms of at least the householder's wives in precedence order to greet the women.

In groups of orthodox Muslims their own hierarchy operates. Vis-à-vis the other hierarchies, however, their position is ambivalent. Most ceremonies and public occasions require a group of Muslims to be present and lead in some prayers, but they are immediately paid off with gifts of money and fried corn cakes, often accompanied by unflattering banter and disputes over the amount and distribution of these gifts. In fact, the whole Muslim community is in a joking relationship with the rest of the people. But on the other hand, as individuals the Muslim elders may be householders of the village and have a normal place in the hierarchy of the community in private life, as it were, when not actually playing the specific role of Muslim to the court, funeral, or festival.

In a school, barracks, presbytery, and so on, the status hierarchy of the educational, military, or ecclesiastical system operates. There are awkward passages when two systems intersect, as when a chief visits a school in his village, or a police officer calls on the village elders on some legal matter. If the person whose status derives from the modern sector has a personal traditional link with the other (the traditional personage is his senior kinsman or the chief of the village where he or his father lives) then the traditional system prevails. Otherwise, the laws

of hospitality to strangers and the supremacy of the home team lead to the visitor's being treated with honor but yielding ultimate priority in matters like greeting to the senior person of the host group. There may nevertheless be some tensions or uncertainties as each ego may partly envy and fear the other for his ability to function in his (alter's) own system, while partly despising him for his lack of competence in ego's sphere. Similarly, a chief and a nonkin policeman, priest, etc., meeting in a public place away from the personal home territory of either, may be uncertain how to behave toward each other. In these situations it is helpful to have a posse of followers--the chief's villagers or the police officer's constables--who constitute a sort of portable home ground and, by giving hometown deference, surround their patron with an aura of importance which may tip the scales in his favor.

A specific study focusing on this area might attain a greater degree of delicacy at this point by following the ethnomethodological perspective and seeing the major "work" accomplished by greetings between people who are not in a well-defined or old-established relationship as comprised of just this negotiation of statuses (see Naden 1983b). There are points at which one can choose to prolong the greeting with the claim, "I am as important as you," or to terminate it with the implication of humility or else of unfriendliness or rank assertiveness, according to further details of the situation. This aspect of greeting in a comparable West African society is discussed in detail by Irvine (1974).

2.2.5 Place of personal choice. The recognition of these formal parameters must not be held to exclude any personal choice. A Mamprusi, as much as a member of any other culture, can be more or less friendly or rude than average; he may be preoccupied by his own immediate joys, problems, or pains; or his social functioning may be hampered by poor sight or hearing. Such factors as personal character, personal relations between the interlocutors, background noise, or time available will determine just how polite the greeting is to be--politeness being largely realized by extra length and effusiveness. The norms this presentation attempts to indicate are still relevant, however, as an unmarked case against which the distinctive attributes of the individual person or interaction may be measured.

2.3 Getting started

On the basis of the above background facts, summarized in the systemic network of figure 1, we can make the decisions that carry us into the beginning of the greetings litany.

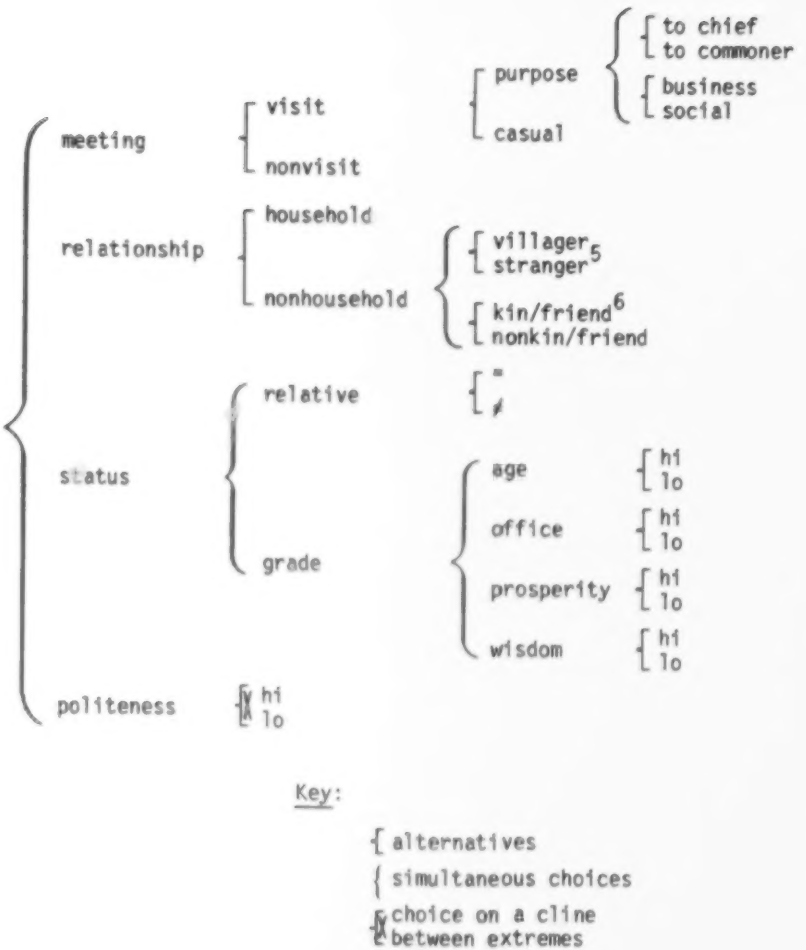

Figure 1. Contextual Basis for Mamprusi Greetings

2.3.1 Requisite condition. The entry condition to the whole question of greeting is that a situation of **meeting** has taken place. This is the case when:

(1) A visits B. A visits B, either purposefully (going to his[7] house) or casually (passing by the place where he is working, resting, or playing). A casual meeting involves passing at a reasonable distance, which is defined as comfortable shouting distance in the open country (e.g., A is going along a footpath beside a field on the other side of which B is working), up to twenty-five meters in a village and with no intervening buildings or functioning social groups, or much closer in crowded situations in a town or market.

(2) Two ... into proximity in a public place. Two individuals or groups of people come into proximity in a public place (distances as above, though one would call over greater distances to greet people on another path through the bush, especially if the greeting commenced while the parties were closer and continued as the paths diverged).

2.3.2 When no greeting is expressed. We have seen (sec. 2.1.3) that a recognized meeting occurs unless the encounter is insufficiently salient and is submerged, socially or physically, by the context. Greeting may, however, be redundant in the case of extended or repeated meeting in the same context: the function of both this redundancy and the saliency factor in suppressing the requirement for greeting "is information theoretically predictable on rather general grounds" (T. Givón: private communication). However, the definition of what is the same context is culture specific (see, for example, Naden 1980:141). We have to take account of the functionally recognized scenes, or situational scripts (Schank and Abelson 1977a and 1977b) or frames (Minsky 1975 and Charniak 1978), of the society. Such scenes in Mampruli culture are enjoying (lit. 'eating') the market, collecting firewood, or fetching water, many of which have specific greeting forms, which both evidences and helps define their status as emic functional units. These greetings are detailed below, especially in section 4.4. The extent of the unitary scenes in time and space may differ considerably; thus a single firewood expedition may involve a group scattering over several hectares of bush for some hours without any greeting being required on reassembly, while someone leaving the house for a half-hour trip to a market five hundred meters away would be expected on returning to greet the household for their staying at home. There are also questions of periodicity: fetching water or bringing in the harvest may involve several journeys but comprise single scenes, which do not require renewal of greetings, while a second trip for firewood in one day constitutes a new scene in which fresh greetings are appropriate.

These cases excepted, failure to greet as is appropriate would be a definite sign of social breakdown--either the people concerned are quarreling or one of them is rude or ignorant of social niceties. A quarrel that leads to refusal to greet is regarded as very serious, and within a household or village such a quarrel will lead others to do their utmost to bring about a speedy reconciliation. It is, in fact, on the comment-worthy inappropriateness of not greeting in various circumstances (and, conversely, of greeting in others, though this is less common, since to give a greeting is the unmarked case) that I base the identification of parameters and rules on which the present discussion is based. This gives an objective backbone to the general--and participant --observation data in the most reliable way for a society where representative controlled statistical sampling is inappropriate.

2.3.3 Variation in effusiveness of greeting. Where a meeting takes place and salutations are indicated, the general character of the interaction is determined by the situational information discussed in section 2.2 above. The main variables are the length and what I call the effusiveness of the greetings litany. These clines can be regarded (to continue the neo-Firthian style of our presentation in figure 1) as prosodies, with the whole greeting as their domain. The following features can be regarded as adding to length: purpose, kin/friend, equal relative status, high age, and high politeness. Effusiveness is high in the presence of the features of purpose, kin/friend, high age, and stranger (if visiting for a purpose). Length is realized by utilizing the loop possibilities of the main greetings networks in preference to taking the exit options at an early stage. Effusiveness is mainly realized by repetition of greeting elements as, for example, **Dasuba, dasuba, dasuba!** instead of just **Dasuba!** 'Good morning!' and by paralinguistic forms (see sec. 3.1).

2.3.4 Group as unit or aggregate of individuals. If a meeting takes place where one or both parties are groups rather than single individuals, it remains to be decided whether a group is to be treated as a unitary participant or as an aggregate of individuals. Mamprusi are much less likely than the British or Americans to use group greetings ("Good morning, ladies!", "Hi, you guys!"); instead, to illustrate their Mamprusi custom, a water-carrying party of ten little girls will walk in single file past where one is working, and each one will say "Good morning!" and expect a separate reply, one after the other. A meeting between two chiefs and their entourages becomes an exercise in mathematical combinations as each member of each group greets every member of the other. The factors that permit group greetings are the reverse of those making for length and effusiveness: casual, nonvisit, stranger (if not visiting), unequal relative status, low age/office, and low politeness. Crowded surroundings and background

noise would also be indicators. Greetings to a group are in the plural grammatical form where relevant; the group usually greets in chorus, though one person may take the lead and the others just chorus responses.

2.3.5 One to initiate the greeting. With these various considerations decided, greeting can commence. Figure 2 indicates the factors involved in deciding who should open: if one partner has been away or has come for the first time, he should be welcomed; otherwise the socially less important will begin to greet, unless he is receiving his superior as a visitor at his own house.

3 Paralinguistic accompaniment

3.1 Bowing and crouching

One of the most characteristic kinesic accompaniments of Mamprusi greetings is the lowering of body posture by one or both interactants. This may range from a stiff bow from the waist, through a crouch with lowered head, somewhat reminiscent of ecclesiastical genuflection, to a low squat with bowed head. The features which promote length and effusiveness (see sec. 2.3.3) are also indicators for increasingly low bowing. If alter is of high status, ego will bow or genuflect: the higher-status interactant will usually give some postural recognition of postural homage, but to a lesser degree than that which he is offered unless both partners are of very high status.

3.2 Handshakes and variants

When meeting takes place between standing interactants, for example, in the market or while walking about the village or along the road, a handshake may accompany the greeting. This is particularly the case with two groups of members, neither of which is central to the mainstream of traditional life. One group, older people under Muslim or Western influence, shake their right hands, often placing the left hand with the palm on the back of alter's right, and, accompanied with greater effusiveness (sec. 2.3.3), this contact becomes a three-to-six beat gentle patting motion. The other group, younger men, particularly those who are better educated or more widely traveled, shake right hands only, often swinging palms into slapping contact with a flamboyant stiffish-arm gesture and clicking fingers on release of contact, each man's thumb and forefinger snapping together off the fingers of the other.

When one interactant is a chief or a paramount chief amongst chiefs, the inferiors, crouching or sitting, give a slot handclap while the chief delivers one side of the greetings litany (thus short-circuiting, as it were, the reaction network [see fig. 5c]). When the chief is greeting an individual in the presence of others, the audience also claps.

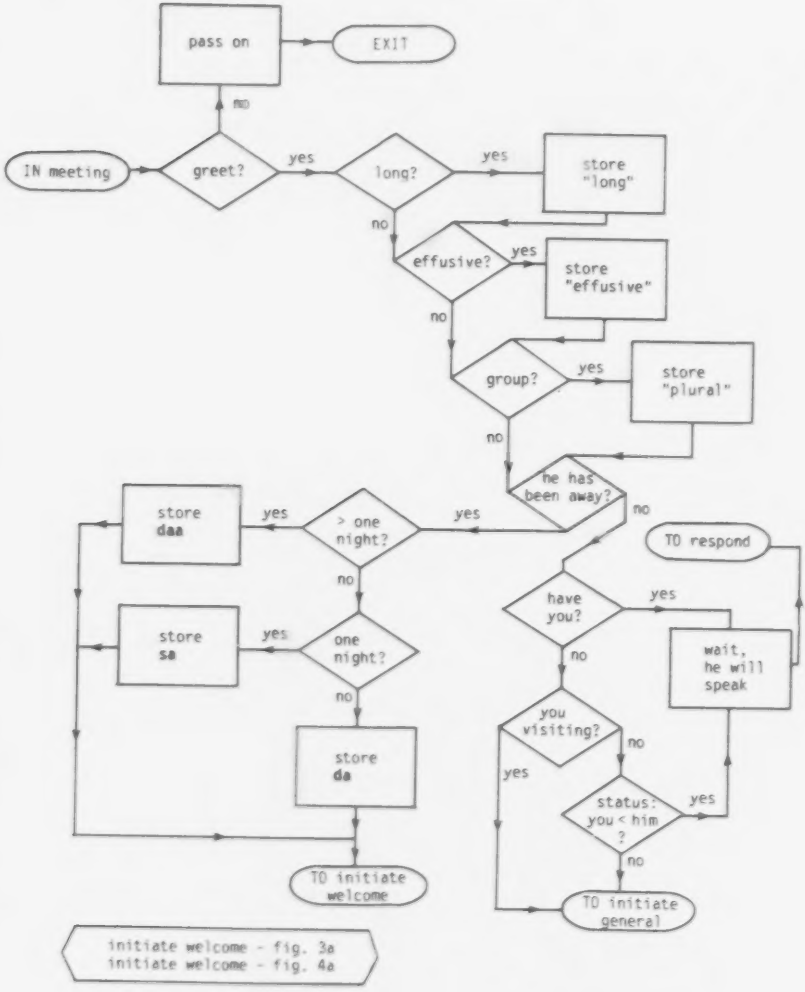

Figure 2. Opening Decision[8]

3.3 Greeting at a distance

It has been indicated that greetings may be exchanged over considerable distances (sec. 2.3.1). As the separation increases to the limit for a given situation, there is an increased tendency for the verbal element to be accompanied by gestures that are more exaggerated. In the open country or in open spaces between houses this particularly concerns bowing and the use of hand gestures. Where people cross each other's line of sight on the borders of oral communication (around twenty-five to thirty meters), they will particularly use a wave to supplement or replace verbal greeting. The wave involves stiffly holding the right arm with the elbow at right angles and the hand flat with fingers together and edgewise-on to alter. To make the wave one raises the hand and arm until the upper arm is just below the horizontal and then pivots them downwards through approximately 30^{0} once or twice, with concomitant bowing from the neck or the waist. Where alter is a chief or other very important person, ego may crouch and clap from a distance while the chief murmurs a greeting and the whole could look to an outsider more like a benediction than a greeting.

3.4 Proxemics and eye contact

When interactants are free to move into mutual proximity in order to greet (at market, walking about, or traveling on foot), the distance they stand apart is approximately the norm for British culture--face to face and at about arm's length. When a purposeful visit is under way, the person who is receivinng the visitor is seated in his normal or convenient place for this purpose--the shade porch, a dais or bench in front of his house, or a dais, chair, animal skin, or woven mat on the verandah of his room or in a shady part of his courtyard--and the visitor is seated facing him, about 1½ to 2½ meters away, though the physical structure of the location may alter the details of orientation or distance. Where one interactant is settled and engaged in working, selling, or resting and the other passes, or where both are passing without opportunity to approach to greet, the distances over which greetings are called are rather greater than the British norm (sec. 2.3.1).

In Mamprusi greeting, whatever the degree of eye contact necessary to establish greeting (for instance to indicate, possibly along with a vocative nomination by name or title, which member of another group is the intended alter) it is broken as the greeting begins, and the eyes are lowered towards the feet or to one side of the alter. This rule is more strictly applied as the factors promoting length and effusiveness (sec. 2.3.3) increase.

3.5 Voice features

Effusiveness (sec. 2.3.3) may be reinforced by a lengthening of vowels and nasals in the final syllables of greeting utterances,

with a decreasing of volume, lowering of pitch, and laxing of sublaryngeal pressure. A chief and those greeting in his presence keep their voices low in pitch and volume. Apart from these cases the voice features of greetings are not significantly different from those of ordinary conversation.

4 The greetings litany

4.1 Welcomes

As indicated in the network of opening decisions (see fig. 2), the priority consideration is whether a welcome is in order (see the diamond "he has been away?" in fig. 2 (right of center)). If one of the interlocutors has been out of the home village since last meeting or is a total stranger, he must receive a welcome. The person who is welcomed also has responses recognizing the fact that the interactants have been separated and that alter has remained behind. These greetings take into account the length of time the person welcomed has been away: a villager who has been to another village and returned without passing a night away, one who has been away for one night only, one who has been away for more than one night, or one who is a first-time visitor (see figs. 2 (lower left) and 3b (Variables)). The choices are presented formally in figure 3a and the repertoire of welcomes is listed in figure 3b.

4.2 General openings

If a welcome is not in order, priority goes to giving morning greetings if the meeting is taking place as the first between the interactants in the morning (see figs. 4a (top), 6a, and 6b). It is noteworthy that, in Bisa, morning greetings were hardly heard after 11:00 a.m. (Naden 1980:fig. 2), the Mamprusi continue to use theirs until noon or after when meeting for the first time in the day.

The next priority involves people on journeys who are actually traveling. If the interactants set out from and arrive at the same locations, but do not travel together the whole time, there are greetings for the one who was ahead or behind. Where one or both of the interactants can be seen traveling on foot, riding a horse, donkey, or bicycle, or waiting to board (or on board) a stationary motor vehicle, there are appropriate greetings (figs. 4a (upper center) and 4b).

If alter has been ill, it is appropriate to use a greeting which inquires after his health (figs. 4a (bottom left), 9a, and 9b); otherwise greetings may be chosen from subsystems referring to health, time of day, and occupation in which alter is engaged (figs. 7a to 9b). The criteria ordering these choices are too fine grained for the present analysis and presentation; there is probably an element of fairly free choice in many cases.

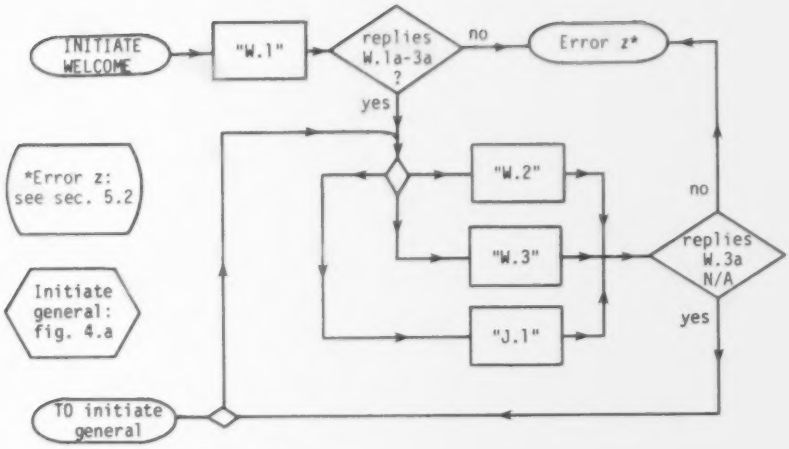

Figure 3a. Initiating Welcomes

Frames:

welcomes	replies
W.1 **I*** **gyaari.** your welcome	W.1a **TI** **daba ayi.** our two days
W.2 **I*** **X*-dima.** your X-people	W.2a **TI** **kyisi** **taaba.** we have-missed each other
W.3 **I** **da*** **paa*** **wula?** you today arrived how?	W.3a **I** **da** **kpalim** **wula?** you today stayed how?

*Variables:

I (2 sg. pron.): if plural stored **ya**

X name of the place that alter has come from

da **sa** or **daa** if these are stored (**sa** 'yesterday', **daa** 'longer ago than yesterday')

paa may **kuli** ('came-home') if alter is being greeted in his home village

Figure 3b. Welcomes

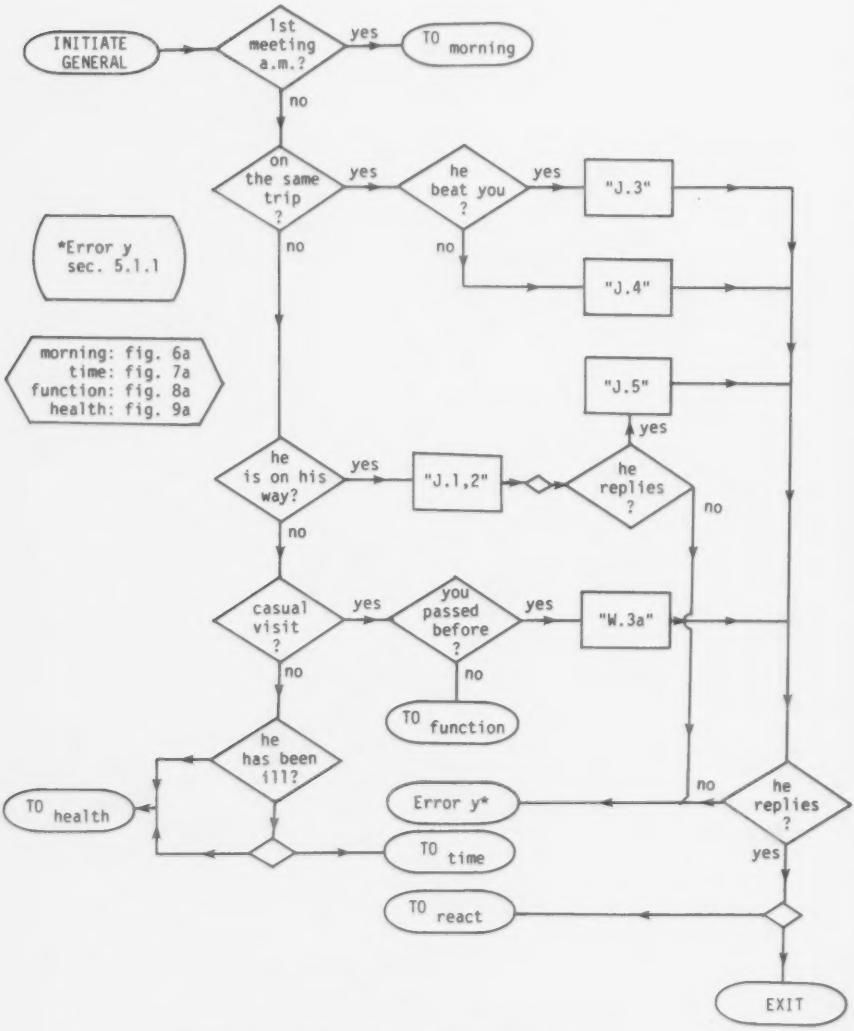

Figure 4a. General Initiating Priorities

Frames:

	greetings	replies
J.1	**Ni i* goorim.** with your journeying	
J.2	**I goorim-dima.** your journeying-people	
J.3	**Ni i toonni.** with your front	
J.4	**Ni i nyaaŋa.** with your back	
J.5	**Puusim*** {**Y*** **i X*-dima.**}	
J.5a		**O* ni wum.** he will hear
	greet {Y your X-people}	

Variables:

I, X: see fig. 3b - Variables.

Y - name of the person or people you expect alter to visit.

Puusim (2 sg. imperative): if plural stored ⟶ **Ya puusim**

O (3 sg. pron.): if **X-dima** or a plural **Y** in J.5 ⟶ **Ba** (3 pl.)

Figure 4b. Journey Greetings

4.3 Responses

To almost all initiatory greetings (but see sec. 5.3) it is correct to reply **Naa**, or perhaps **Alaafɛ**.[10] For a number of initiatory greetings there are correlative responses that are the normal response in addition to or instead of these general replies. Though this correlation is not an absolute rule, departure from it would be generally considered unusual, but not erroneous.

A: **Dasuba!**	B: **Naa, ti maasim.**	(normal)
	Ti maasim	(fairly normal)
	Naa	
	Alaafɛ (, ti maasim).	
	Ni i tuuma.	(unusual)
	. . .	

To give some indication of this situation, the main response network (see fig. 5a) contains a table indicating most-normal, normal, and less-usual responses to initial greetings, with the implicit rider that other responses that are not absolutely inappropriate (morning or market responses in the wrong time or place) are possible, but at even longer odds.

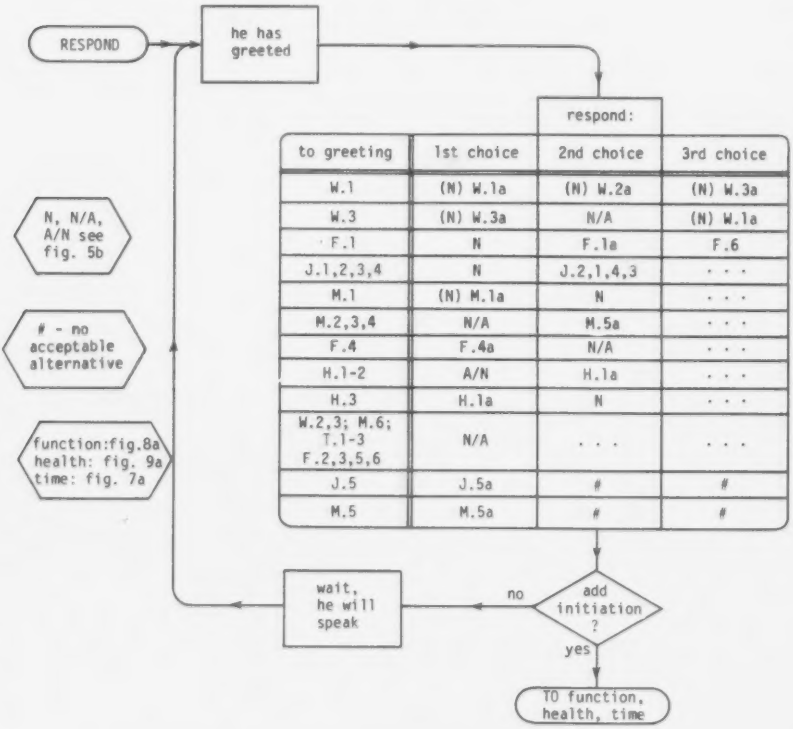

Figure 5a. Response Routines

It is possible to reverse the initiation/response turn-taking structure by following a response immediately by an initiatory greeting of one's own:

A: **Dasuba!** B: **Naa, ti maasim.** (normal)

A: **(Naa) i ba bɛ wula?** B: **Naa.**

A: **Dasuba!** B: **Naa, ti maasim: i ba bɛ wula?** (alternative)

A: **Naa.** . . .

This option would normally be taken in cases where the criteria determining the initial allocation of roles are unclear (see secs. 2.2 and 5.1 and fig. 2).

N	**Naa**	(general purpose response)
A	**Alaafɛ**	'health' ("I (he/we/they) am well.")
N/A	**Naa**	or, less frequently, **Alaafɛ**
A/N	**Alaafɛ**	or, less frequently, **Naa**

Figure 5b. Responses

If the role-switching option is not taken, the original initiator continues with a further greeting (fig. 5c) unless he wishes to terminate the greeting and pass on or go into general conversation, length of litany being determined as indicated (sec. 2.3.3).

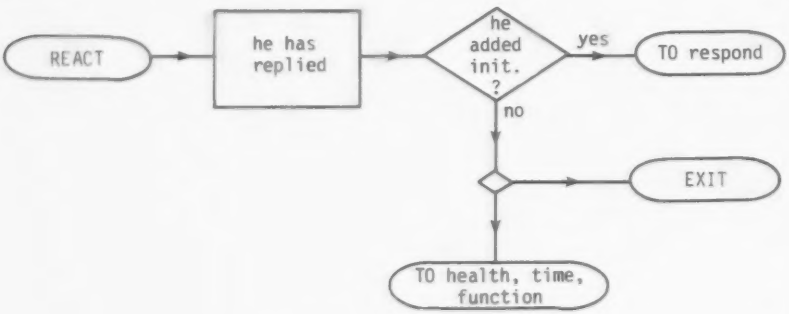

Figure 5c. Reaction Options

There are certain above-random expectancies of sequences of initiations. These are partly reflected in the ordering of items in figures 4b, 6b, 7b, 8b, and 9b (except where mutually exclusive, as in J.3 and 4 of fig. 4b or F.2-5 of fig. 8b), but the levels of delicacy involved in determining the normalcy of such sequences over against others is outside our present scope. The charts admit looping, including repetition of the same greeting several times. But such multiple repetition is unusual, although it is certainly a possibility (one repetition is not uncommon), and we would have to incorporate some kind of statistical indication of frequency to exclude overrepetitious recursion.

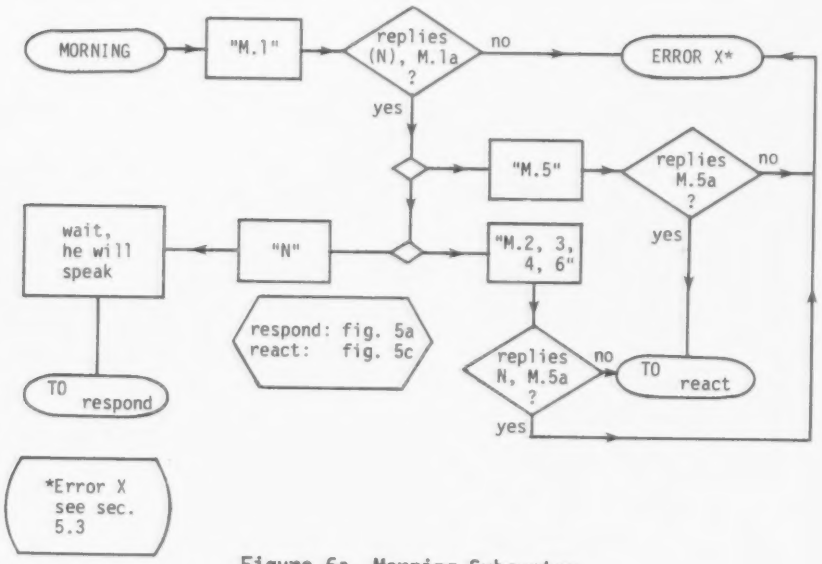

Figure 6a. Morning Subsystem

4.4 Time, function, and health

The remaining subsystems are comparatively nonspecific in applicability. The time subsystem refers to segments of the day after the morning period: midday-early afternoon, evening (to dusk), and night are the three divisions recognized (figs. 7a and 7b). The subsystem which refers to alter's activity (figs. 8a and 8b) is fairly self-explanatory: **kulga** (F.2) is any place one visits for water (river, lake, well, or water hole), and the greeting is offered to those who are at the watering place as well as those returning; the 'woods' (F.3) are stocks of firewood (**doo/daari** 'stick(s)'), not a form of landscape, which would be 'bush'; the market greetings (F.4 and F.4a) may also be given to somebody who is evidently returning from market; the work greeting (F.1) is fairly generally usable, even when alter is obviously not working, so that after **Dasuba!** (M.1) it is the most useful all-purpose salutation.[11] Besides specific cases where alter is known, or looks, to be or to have been sick, greeting for his health and that of his family (figs. 9a and 9b) is a common source of material to provide length of litany where required (sec. 2.3.3): H.1 and H.3 are inquiries about the health of named persons, relatives ('your father/wife/child ...'), or groups ('your house-people/womenfolk ...') and can be repeated ad lib.

Frames: [greetings] [replies]

M.1 **Daasuba.** M.1a **Ti maasim.**
morning our coolness

M.2 **I* sa doon wula?**
you yesterday reclined how?

M.3 **I goom ni (maa)?**
your sleep with (the)

M.4 **I goom ziiya.**
your sleep place

M.5 **I (sa) gbisiya?** M.5a **(Aay,) goom bɛ ni.**
you (yesterday) slept? (No,) sleep existed there

M.6 **I lugri kpeaa?**
your side neighbor
(i.e., "How is your bedfellow?")

*Variables:

I: see figure 3b - Variables

Figure 6b. Morning Greetings

4.5 Open-endedness

The question arises as to how far this coverage is, or can be, complete--that is, whether the greeting system is really closed or whether it is open-ended. There are certainly further greetings which recur on limited occasions and could be included except for considerations of scale; for instance, greetings such as 'with your rain' when it is raining, 'with your good head (luck)' when someone has been especially lucky,[12] and 'with our new year' on any festival (traditional new year fire festival, Christmas, January 1st, Muslim 'great feast', etc.). Others have been heard only once; for instance, 'with your(pl.) two shirts', addressed to my wife and myself when we were wearing matching outfits. One could easily generate further items from the same grammatical patterns for any climatic conditions, e.g., 'with our heat' or 'with our fog',[13] or other circumstances, e.g., 'with your big hat' or 'with your new bicycle', but the rarity with which one hears these originalities (I have spent some fifty-five months in a rural village and heard virtually none) gives them a joking feeling which indicates their basically extrasystemic status.

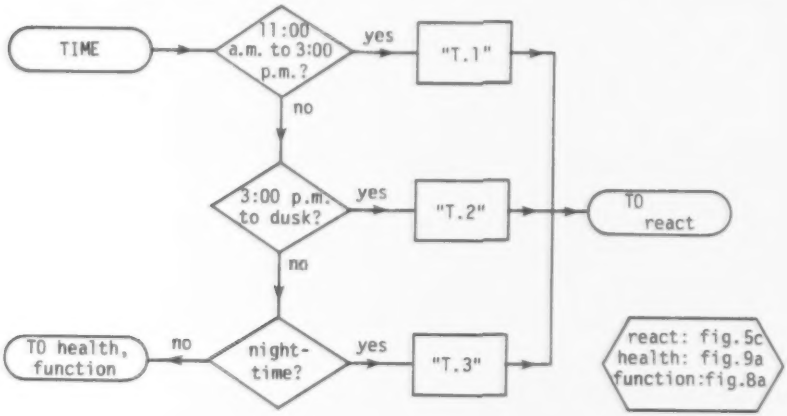

Figure 7a. Time Subsystem

Frames:

greetings

T.1 **Ni i* wuntaŋa.**
with your sunshine

T.2 **Ni i za'anoori.**
with your evening

T.3 **Aniŋwula.**
night greeting (i.e., in Dagbani "how is your body?")

*Variables:

I: see figure 3b - Variables

Figure 7b. Time Greetings

4.6 Comparison with Bisa

Comparison of the Mampruli system with that of Bisa (Naden 1974, 1976, 1980) shows evident similarities. This is not merely an artifact of the formalism, for on the one hand, sketched flowcharts for various British and American systems[14] show considerable differences from these African charts, and on the other, a

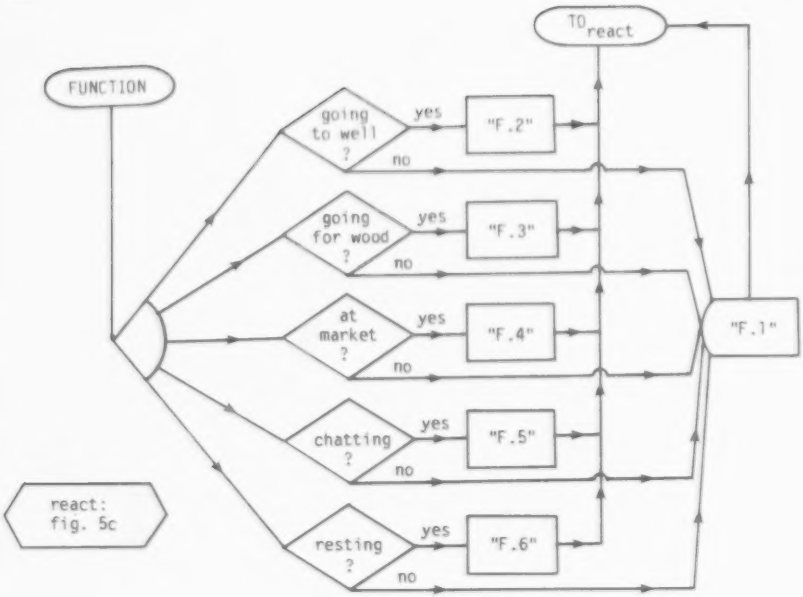

Figure 8a. Function Subsystem

Frames: greetings replies

F.1 **Ni i* tuuma (tuuma).** F.1a **Ni i tuuma, (naa).**
with your work (work) with your work, (then)

F.2 **Ni i kulga.**
with your watering place

F.3 **Ni i daari ni.**
with your woods (loc.)

F.4 **Ni i daa.** F.4a **I daa-dima.**
with your market your market-people

F.5 **Ni i sɔsga.**
with your conversing

F.6 **Ni i gyɛlinsi.**
with your tiredness

*Variables:

I: see figure 3b - Variables

Figure 8b. Function Greetings

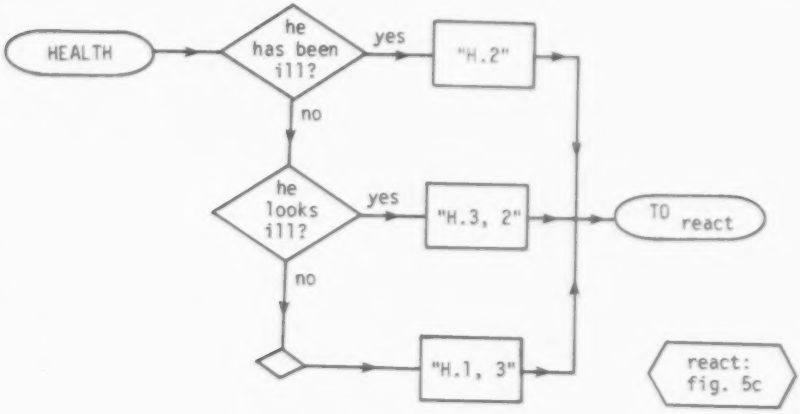

Figure 9a. Health Subsystem

Frames:

greetings	replies
H.1 **Y* ((bɛ) wula)?** Y ((exists) how)?	H.1a **(Aay,) alaafɛ bɛ ni.** (No,) health exists there
H.2 **I* ningbina ((bɛ) wula)?** your body ((exists) how)?	
H.3 **I / Y mar alaafɛ?** you / Y have health?	

*Variables:

Y: personal name or kin-term-plus-pronoun

I: see 3b. - Variables

Figure 9b. Health Greetings

tourist's eye view assessment of the Bisa and Mamprusi greeting situations would show them more or less equivalent. Specific differences are apparent, however, which make the two systems quite distinct in detail. At the outset one sees this contrast, namely, that the Bisa superior, or person at home, has to welcome the inferior or visitor, while amongst the Mamprusi one comes into the

presence of one's host or senior with a salutation. The next difference to be noticed is this: Bisa welcomes include welcoming alter from his night's rest in the morning, thereafter the ordinary "good morning" is relegated to the time subsystem (Naden 1980: fig. 2 (top right and lower left)). Beyond the function and time subsystems (Mampruli has a night time greeting and so does not use the conversation function greeting for after dusk as does Bisa (Naden 1980: fig. 2 (bottom)), Bisa has general greetings that include apparent reference to health (though often in a purely nominal way, as in the English "How do you do?"), but which may completely lack this element, for example, 'in peace (all is well)' and 'no trouble', which have no equivalent in Mampruli.[15] Most Bisa responses are sentences (there is no general **Naa** to fall back on) and normally match the form of the initiation. The question/statement transform ("Is all well?"/"All is well.") is a common pattern in Bisa greetings which does not occur in Mampruli.

We see, then, that the overall concept of greeting is very similar in the two cultures--a litany of initiation/response pairs with a possibility of reversal of role (see fig. 5a, and cf. Naden 1980: fig. 4,[16] Pike 1973, and Lowe 1969), and of considerable prolongation under social constraints, greetings for welcome, time, health, and alter's activity, and turn taking determined by status and by who is 'at home'. It is these similarities that make the primary impression on the tourist's eye. When one begins participating in the two societies, however, one finds that a considerable amount of detail needs to be relearned, not only in linguistic patterns but also in structural design.

5 Presuppositions and errors

The above discussion has indicated how correct procedure in greeting in Mampruli depends at numerous points on decisions that require input of factual information about the interlocutor and the social or environmental situation. The question arises as to what happens if the requisite information is not available to the speaker, or if he bases his conduct on an error in such presuppositional material. Errors can indeed occur, but there are fairly well-institutionalized ways of dealing with such occurrences.

5.1 Turn taking errors

One type of failure occurs when the normal turn taking pattern of the litany is disrupted, and we may recognize several specific cases according to the particular phase when the error occurs.

5.1.1 Failure to respond. This is the most common and noticeable break in the social current. If a greeting is offered but not returned, the opening speaker is in an embarrassing position. By-standers will intervene with "He is greeting you!" or the

initial speaker will repeat his greeting more loudly or with more gestural support, or he will come nearer to the person being addressed. Where it does not seem as though the recipient could have failed to have heard the greeting, they may be asked "Are we fighting?"[17] since a social rift is the only recognized reason for not greeting (see sec. 2.3.2) relevant to the case.

5.1.2 Failure to initiate. This error can occur where the social calculations (see sec. 2.3.3) indicate clearly that one member should initiate a greeting and he does not do so. This might indicate some sort of an attempt to claim status (as it is usually the less-important person who opens), unfriendliness, or a breakdown in normal interaction because the person is either impolite or a stranger who is unfamiliar with the proper forms. In general, the value set on greetings and peaceful social relations is such that the person who should, according to the normal rules, wait to be addressed, will open a greeting when it is apparent that alter is not going to do so. The "Are we fighting?" approach might be used to point out in a gentle way that the norm is being violated--perhaps to teach the rule to a child or to an adult foreigner who has reached the stage in learning the social norms where he should know that it is his responsibility to open in the situation. Where alter is by far the social inferior and is definitely failing in politeness (as in the case of young teenagers lounging around one's house or entering a room without greeting the householder or the owner of the room) something more explicit might be said: "You are coming to my house and do not greet me: why?" "Do you people not greet an elder?" or the like.

5.1.3 Premature initiation. A person may commit this error when he opens the greeting in a situation where the norm is that he should wait for the other to speak first. This would usually indicate a stranger's unfamiliarity with the rules or a deliberate or natural self-effacement (the less important opens). It could, however, arise from a desire to establish a polite meeting where alter might not recognize its appropriateness: ego is abnormally friendly and goes further than the norm in greeting strangers in public places, or is an expatriate (who is ex officio important and so should receive the first greeting) who is showing that he can speak the language and wants to follow traditional etiquette. In all cases of this kind the person who receives the greeting gives the minimal response and then immediately reopens with his own initiation to correct the turn-taking role structure:

A: **Dasuba!** B: **Naa. Dasuba!**

A: **Naa, ti maasim!** B: ...

(where the correct would be:

B: **Dasuba!** A: **Naa, ti maasim!**

B: ...)

5.1.4 Fictitious absence. This is a special case where the interlocutors are both physically present, but social meeting is not yet established. An important visitor to a house is not present for purposes of greeting until he is seated on a chair, and the chief or other householder is not present to be greeted until he is seated on his skins, mat, or stool over against the visitor.[18] The fact of a stranger's coming into view with the appearance of a purposeful visitor triggers a running to and fro and giving of orders to "Bring a chair for the stranger!" and so on (the household may have only one such chair) and to get the householder established in due state: only then can greeting commence. If the visitor should rashly venture on a greeting before he is officially present he will receive an embarrassed minimal response and the litany will restart in earnest when everyone is ready.[19]

5.2 Incorrect presuppositions

An inaccurate estimate of some of the factual input to the decisions can lead to an error in performance: the normal solution is to reply to the actual greeting offered and then say, "But ..." and correct the mistaken presupposition. Common examples in village life, where people are generally well informed about their neighbors' business, are greetings of welcome which should be offered to someone who has returned from a journey, but which may have been omitted by a person who is unaware that alter has been away, or may have been wrongly used when alter has not in fact been away. In the first case, the person who has not received the welcome he expected will respond to the actual greeting and then give the traveler's greeting to the one who has stayed behind:

A: **Dasuba!**	B: **Naa, ti masim. I sa kpalim wula?**
A: **Naa. I sa gɔya?**	B: **Iim. N sa kyaŋŋi X.**
A: **I gyaari. ...**	
(A: Good morning!	B: Fine, thank you. How did you stay yesterday?
A: Thank you. Did you travel yesterday (, then)?	B: Yes, I went to X.
A: Welcome. ...)	

If a welcome is wrongly given, the person addressed will give the normal reply to the greeting offered and then say, "But I haven't been anywhere!" Similarly, single or childless people who are given greetings for their husband, wife/wives, or children give the normal response and then correct the presupposition. A wrong greeting may come about through one's unthinkingly following a familiar sequence of greetings, or through wrong guesses about a stranger based on their outward appearance, or in joke or mockery.

Because the morning greeting **Dasuba!** is high in selectional priority (see fig. 4a (top)), it is sometimes used at inappropriate times by small children, the mentally retarded, or foreigners who have not yet learned the other greetings, and is even used unthinkingly by normal adults. The correlative response may or may not be given, and then an echo-query or question as to the greeting's appropriateness is added:

time: 4:00 p.m.	A: **Dasuba!**	
	B: **(Naa, ti maasim!)**	**Dasuba!?!** **Asuba nyɛ di?**
	A: Good morning!	
	B: (Fine, thank you!)	Good morning!?! Is it morning?

A comparable case where one interactant is concealed from view is described in sec. 2.1.3 above.

5.3 The exception

Finally, we mention the case of the only greeting to which the answers **Naa** and **Alaafɛ** are not just unusual but actually incorrect. To the morning greeting **I (sa) gbisiya?** 'Did you sleep (last night)?' the answer must be **Goom bɛ ni** 'There is sleep.' This greeting (M.5: figs. 6a and 6b) is often directed by younger men as a test to a foreigner who is learning the language/culture,[20] and if he replies **Naa/Alaafɛ**, he is corrected with mild ridicule.

6 Functions of greeting

Having considered the greetings litany as a unit and in its internal structure, we may also consider its function in structures of a higher hierarchical rank. Linguistically, it is clear that the greeting initiates nearly all types of discourse: in one of the earliest modern practical discourse analyses, the presence of a formal introduction before the specific lead-in to a particular narrative is signaled (Taber 1966:180:fig. 12). On rare occasions, some utterance of practical or emotional urgency may precede a formal greeting:

A: "Look out, here comes a lorry!" B: (jumps out of road)

A: "Good morning!"

or

A: "Where did you get that hat?!?" B: "Ha, ha, ha!"

A: "Good morning!"

The idea that a greeting may be optional is probably an artifact of the linguist's recording of texts on tape for analysis: in normal life no one would walk in and start to tell a folktale or describe a procedure or personal experience without preliminary

courtesies. Indeed, one of the things which started me on the study of greetings was that, even in the artificial recording situations, my Bisa helpers often had to bring an audience to respond to their greetings (and generally give feedback) in order to be able to tell a story for the tape.[21]

It is possible to jump from the exit of the greetings litany, as described above, directly into the conversation, narrative, or whatever may be the main content of the interaction--or, of course, to fall silent or depart if the greeting is the sole content. There may also, however, be a transitional state, varying in type according to context. In all casual or nonvisit interactions (see fig. 1) the questions "Where are you going?" or "What are you doing?" as appropriate are so predictable a next step after the greetings litany as to share in its closed, institutionalized character. The immediate answers are usually of a semantically nonspecific nature, and they tend to be rather uninformative statements of what is observable from context:

A: "What are you doing?" B: "Digging my farm."

or

A: "Where are you going?" B: "I'm going to town."

After the bare response, the continuation "What for?" is also fairly predictable. Another such institutionalized routine is used when somebody is obviously coming home from market:

A: "Where have you been?" / "How was your market?" B: "To market." / "Fine, thank you."

A: "What did you get/bring me?"

Where storytelling, or a court case, or some other similar more formal type of interaction is intended, then there may be a transition of a backstage nature (Goffman 1971:114ff.), where the participants discuss this, deciding who is to start or whatever is appropriate, before passing to the specific introduction of the first story, case, or whatever.

On the social plane, the main functions of the greeting are the initiation of an occasion of social contact and the establishment of politeness. The courtesy element is so strong that these languages do not have a routine formula for "please" (for the term and some discussion, see Coulmas 1979). Having established politeness with an appropriate, if necessary an effusive (sec. 2.3.3), greeting, one can then proceed in the body of the interaction to request a gift or service with a direct imperative without any further preamble. It is possible to be especially tactful by saying something like "I am begging you," but that is an optional extra for special effect, rather than a formula like English "please", which is required to avoid an effect of rudeness.[22] Further details of this function have already been considered in the discussion of greeting as a social end (sec. 2.1.1).

7 Farewells

After the elaborateness of Mamprusi greetings, the farewells are something of an anticlimax. Often at the end of business, interactants drift apart without any formal closure. Such farewells as do exist depend on comparatively modest amounts of social and situational information. Most commonly the person who is leaving merely says, "I am going home (to market/to ...)"[23] and alter replies Tɔ! 'O.K.' and perhaps adds, "Greet your house (market/ ...) people!" (cf. J.5: fig. 4b). It is possible, although rather impolite, to suggest that it is time for a guest to leave by initiating one of these farewells. A proverb of the Don't-look-a-gift-horse-in-the-mouth or Be-thankful-for-small-mercies type says, "A small gift is better than "Greet the house!" (i.e., better than dismissal empty-handed).

A more elaborate farewell may be heard in the inverse of a welcoming situation: a visitor from outside the village is going home or a villager is going on a journey. The person leaving may say, "Remain well!" (i.e., have a good staying behind, not "well" of health); and the one staying behind will utter one or more farewells, in the form of commands to greet the people of the place of destination, the chief thereof, and any relatives or friends of either interactant known to be there (J.5: fig. 4a) or, finally, to greet the people met on the journey (J.2), especially where the speaker does not know where the person is going or is not familiar with the place and its inhabitants. The person departing may say, "He/they will hear," to each command as appropriate (J.5a). These items have already appeared because greetings for people passing on a journey collapse welcome into farewell without intervening content.

8 Conclusion

That it is possible for someone coming from outside to function adequately in a new society and language indicates that the whole pragmatic nexus of words, gestures, and social and environmental situations involved in the acceptable use of language is systematic or rule governed. In fact, the learning of a new sociolanguage makes it possible--indeed necessary--to bring into conscious focus many of the elements of this type of system which are learned and practised automatically in our native culture.

I have tried to show here how one can take one of the more restricted subsystems, and by a combination of participant observation and formal analysis, begin to recognize what is involved and to present his results in a manner that can provide insight into the system or guidance for a potential learner, which will relate[24] to sociolinguistic <u>use</u>, rather than mere formal linguistic <u>usage</u>.

NOTES

1 See, however, Drucker-Brown (1975:84ff.) for certain female chieftainships.

2 The usual anthropologists' term for the person who is knowledgeable in funeral customs and has various duties at an interment in addition to gravedigging: in modern British English 'undertaker' might be a better translation.

3 The anthropologists' term: in local English, 'soothsayer'.

4 Often called 'fetish' or 'juju' in local English.

5 Parallel systems with a single entry condition (in this case nonhousehold) generate the cartesian product of their terms in n-ary combination (according to the number of systems). That **stranger** can be either 'kin/friend' or not ties in with the semantic range of the Mampruli term **saana/saanba**, usually glossed in local English as 'stranger'. This semantic range includes: (1) any person not in his own place of residence, hence one to whom the duty of hospitality is owed by those in whose hometown the meeting takes place, that is, a 'visitor, guest'; and (2) a person not kin, friend, fellow townsman, or acquaintance, encountered on neutral ground, that is, an 'alien, stranger' (in the usual English sense).

6 Mamprusi take account of a widely extended range of relatives, while friendship is a formal relationship sealed by gift-giving. If you call someone "my friend," he will reply, "If you are my friend, what will you give me?"

7 In general, I use the pronoun **he** irrespective of sex unless the context indicates a male or female referent only. The Mampruli third person pronouns do not distinguish gender, and in most cases the sex of the interlocutors is irrelevant in greetings except where specifically discussed.

8 Notes on the charting conventions:

(a) Rectangles contain actions.

(b) Diamonds represent decisions: if large, a polar choice; if small, an option that is unconditioned at the level of delicacy to which we are working.

(c) The fan node (fig. 8a) marks a point with multiple parallel conditioned possibilities.

(d) Items in quotation marks: at this point ego utters the greeting so numbered in the lists in figures 3b-9b.

(e) Ovals are entries, connections to other subnetworks, or exits. (EXIT means end of greeting: proceed to further business or part.)

(f) Commas indicate alternatives: for example, "M.1, 2" means "utter either the greeting numbered M.1 or that numbered M.2."

9 Here, as at other points, it may be seen that the formal presentation in this paper is not exhaustive for practical reasons of scale: these other matters could have been dealt with in a monographic type of description. See also section 3.5 of the present paper.

10 The **naa baa** or **naam ba** of more northerly groups (Bisa, Naden 1970:191; and Kusaasi and Mossi, Naden 1980:139) is not really a native Mampruli response, though occasionally heard.

11 It is also used to thank someone for having done something for one.

12 For example, a woman who has passed safely through childbirth, whether the child has lived or not.

13 Besides 'rain', 'cold' is also heard: we could add a 'weather' subsystem parallel to 'time' and recognize this as a possible growth point in the system.

14 A problem in such analysis of Western cultures is the multiplicity of socioeconomic and regional subsystems. I have recently experienced the difference between northern and southern British cultures: in the north my "Good morning!" to strangers was regarded as overly stiff, the response desired being the less formal "Hello!"; in the south it was considered unduly forward, the response being muttered grudgingly, or even refused. For British/ American differences see Naden 1980:141, 6 (2).

15 The Mampruli direct equivalent of Bisa **miisi ba'w'i** 'no trouble' would be **Y la ka ni**, which is never heard in greeting; however, the closely related Kusaal, spoken in the area between Mamprusi and Bisa homelands, uses its own **Y la ka e** in this function very frequently.

16 Read "add a question?" (i.e., do you want to add a question?) at right of figure.

17 This is normally jocular--a gentle chiding of alter's reticence. Bad feeling serious enough to cause avoidance could not arise in Mamprusi society without both antagonists being aware of the existence of a fighting situation.

18 He may also want to put on more-respectable clothes before receiving a greeting.

19 On 'nonpersons', outsiders, see Goffman 1971:144, 150ff.

20 The same for closely related Dagbani: see Wilson 1972, sec. 4.4.

21 The same has since been found with the Mamprusi.

22 At least for people of my age and subculture.

23 Often in the proleptic or prophetic perfect: **N kuliya** (literally 'I have gone home.' Cf. **n-kuli** 'to go home' and **N kunni ni**, 'I am going home'.

24 For this distinction, see Widdowson 1979, passim.

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